

**RURAL TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS IN
NORTHEAST BRAZIL:
THE JIQUIRIÇÁ VALLEY IN BAHIA**

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ABSTRACT

Territorial dynamics in Northeast Brazil: the Jiquiriçá valley in Bahia

This research undertook a case study in Northeast Brazil to address three inter-related research questions: (i) what factors explain the performance of rural areas combining growth, poverty reduction and social inclusion? (ii) Have coalitions of social actors contributed to progressive outcomes by influencing institutional change? (iii) What are the implications for policy? The investigation contributed to a Latin American research programme on Rural Territorial Dynamics, which undertook 20 studies of rural areas displaying broadly successful outcomes, according to census and household survey data.

The Jiquiriçá valley is an agricultural region characterised by family farming, and forms one of 26 clusters of municipalities in Bahia designated as *Territórios de Identidade* under policies promoting participation in development planning. The study applied geographical and social science concepts of territoriality, social networks, coalitions, and institutional change, to a combined qualitative and quantitative analysis of data gathered from key informants, farming communities, urban traders, and secondary sources. It identified distinct development trajectories in different parts of the valley, explained by geographical variations in natural resources, agrarian structure, agricultural markets and the impacts of public policies. Inclusive prosperity in the valley's Atlantic Forest region is explained by its concentration of small family farmers, good links with diversified markets, and a rural union movement active within a broader social coalition. This coalition has achieved significant innovation in certain municipalities and led development of a government-assisted territorial forum, although not including private sector actors or more conservative municipalities. Nevertheless, government policies have failed to invest in inclusive economic development, and have overlooked the valley's socio-spatial diversity. Positive development outcomes in the valley mainly result from growth of agricultural markets and public financial transfers. The conclusion considers broader lessons for rural and territorial development policy and practice, with reference to findings of other investigations in Brazil and Latin America.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ATER-AMAS	<i>Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural – Agentes Multiplicadoras</i> (Technical Assistance and Rural Extension – Multiplier Agents: an agriprocessing extension programme for rural union members)
ATES	<i>Assistência Técnica Social e Ambiental</i> (a joint EBDA-INCRA programme for technical, social development and environmental assistance and extension support to land reform settlements in Bahia)
BNB	<i>Banco do Nordeste do Brasil</i> (Bank of the Northeast of Brazil – a development bank)
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy (of the European Union)
CAR	<i>Companhia para Áreas Rurais</i> (Bahia state company for rural development)
CDL	<i>Coordenação das Lojistas</i> (Coordination of Shopkeepers - local retail trade associations)
CEDETER	<i>Conselho Estadual do Desenvolvimento Territorial Rural</i> (State Council for Rural Territorial Development)
CEDRS	<i>Conselho Estadual do Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável</i> (State Council for Sustainable Rural Development)
CEPLAC	<i>Comissão Executiva da Lavoura de Cação</i> (National Cocoa development organisation)
CET	<i>Coordenação Estadual dos Territórios</i> (State level coordinating body for rural territories in Bahia)
CIFOR	Centre for International Forestry Research
COELBA	<i>Companhia de Eletricidade da Bahia</i> (Bahia electricity supply company)
CONDER	<i>Companhia de Desenvolvimento Urbano</i> (Bahia state company for urban development)
CONSAD	<i>Conselho de Segurança Alimentar e Desenvolvimento Social</i> (Council for Food Security and Social Development)
CONDRAF	<i>Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável</i> (National Council for Sustainable Rural Development)
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre

DEFRA	Department for Rural Affairs (UK government)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK government)
DIRES	<i>Direção Regional da Saúde</i> (Regional Directorate for Health)
DIREC	<i>Direção Regional de Educação</i> (Regional Directorate for Education)
EBDA	<i>Empresa Baiana de Desenvolvimento Agrícola</i> (Bahia State Agricultural Extension Agency)
EMBASA	<i>Empresa Baiana de Água e Saneamento</i> (Bahia State Company for Water and Sanitation)
EU	European Union
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
FASE	<i>Fundação para Ação Solidária</i> (a national NGO that assists the rural unions movement regionally)
FETAG	<i>Federação dos Trabalhadores de Agricultura</i> (Federation of Agricultural Workers)
FETRAF	<i>Federação de Trabalhadores de Agricultura Familiar</i> (Federation of Family Farm Workers)
GIZ	<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit</i> (German Foundation for International Development)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IAASTD	International Assessment of Agricultural Systems, Technology and Development
IBAMA	<i>Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente</i> (Brazilian Environmental Institute)
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFBAIANO	<i>Instituto Federal Baiano</i> (Federal Bahian Institute)
IPEA	<i>Instituto de Pesquisa Economica Aplicada</i> (Institute for Applied Economics Research)
LED	Local Economic Development
MDA	<i>Ministério de Desenvolvimento Agraria</i> (Ministry for Agrarian Development)
MDS	<i>Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social</i> (Ministry for Social Development)

MINAG	<i>Ministério de Agricultura</i> (Ministry of Agriculture)
MST	<i>Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra</i> (Landless Rural Workers' Movement)
NEG	New Economic Geography
NIE	New Institutional Economics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IBGE	<i>Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística</i> (Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics)
IICA	Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture
IMA	<i>Instituto do Meio Ambiente</i> (Institute for Environment)
INCRA	<i>Instituto Nacional da Colonização e Reforma Agraria</i> (National Institute for Agrarian Reforma and Colonisation)
INGA	<i>Instituto de Gestão das Aguas</i> (Institute for Water Management, now incorporated into IMA)
IPCC	Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change
LEADER	<i>Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Economie Rurale</i> – the flagship EU rural development programme)
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
PTDRS	<i>Plano Territorial de Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável</i> (Territorial Plan for Sustainable Rural Development)
PAC	<i>Programa Acelerado de Crescimento</i> (Accelerated Growth Programme)
PIB	<i>Produto Interno Bruto</i> (Gross Domestic Product)
PROINFRA	<i>Programa da Infraestrutura</i> (Infrastructure Programme)
PRONAF	<i>Programa Nacional de Agricultura Familiar</i> (National Programme for Family farming – national small farmer credit programme)
PRONAT	<i>Programa Nacional do Desenvolvimento Territorial</i> (National Territorial Development Programme)
PCdoB	<i>Partido Comunista do Brasil</i> (Communist Party of Brazil)
PFL	<i>Partido Federal Liberal</i> (Federal Liberal Party, now known as “DEM”)

PMDB	<i>Partido do Movimento Democrático do Brasil</i> (Brazil Democratic Movement Party)
PSDB	<i>Partido Social Democrático do Brasil</i> (Brazil Social Democratic Party)
PT	<i>Partido do Trabalho</i> (Workers Party)
PTC	<i>Programa Territórios da Cidadania</i> (Citizenship Territories Programme)
REDES	<i>Rede de Desenvolvimento Sustentável</i> (a local NGO)
RIMISP	Latin American Centre for Rural Development
RTD	Rural Territorial Dynamics
SDT	<i>Secretaria de Desenvolvimento Territorial</i> (Secretariat for Territorial Development – within MDA)
SEAGRI	<i>Secretaria Estadual de Agricultura</i> (State Secretariat for Agriculture)
SEBRAE	<i>Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio ao Empreendedor</i> (Brazilian Enterprise Support Service)
SECULT	<i>Secretaria Estadual da Cultura</i> (State Secretariat for Culture)
SEDES	<i>Secretaria Estadual de Desenvolvimento Social</i> (State Secretariat for Social Development)
SEDUR	<i>Secretaria Estadual de Desenvolvimento Urbano</i> (State Secretariat for Urban Development)
SEI	<i>Superintendência de Estudos Econômicos e Sociais da Bahia</i> (Bahia Superintendency for Economic and Social Studies)
SEMA	<i>Secretaria Estadual do Meio Ambiente</i> (State Secretariat for Environment)
SEPLAN	<i>Secretaria Estadual de Planejamento</i> (State Planning Secretariat)
SINTRAF	<i>Sindicato dos Trabalhadores de Agricultura Familiar</i> (Family Farming Workers' Union)
SNA	Social Network Analysis
SUAF	<i>Superintendência de Agricultura Familiar</i> (Superintendency for Family Farming)
STR	<i>Sindicato dos Trabalhadores de Agricultura</i> (Agricultural Workers' Union)

UFABC	<i>Universidade Federal de ABC</i> (Federal University of the ABC region, in greater Sao Paulo: the name derives from the towns of Santo André and São Bernardo do Campo where campuses are located.)
UFBA	<i>Universidade Federal da Bahia</i> (Federal University of Bahia)
UFRB	<i>Universidade Federal do Recôncavo Baiano</i> (Federal University of the Bahian Reconcavo)
UFRJ	<i>Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro</i> (Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro)
UK	United Kingdom
UNEB	<i>Universidade Estadual da Bahia</i> (State University of Bahia)
UNEP	United National Environment Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WDR	World Bank World Development Report

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and aims of the research

As populations grow, food and energy demands increase, communications improve and the global economy progressively integrates, the changing character and role of rural areas has been a focus of analysis by scholars in UK and Europe (for example Lowe et al. 1995; Ray 2000, 2006), and also in Latin America (Veiga 1999, 2002 Favareto 2007, Abramovay 2006, 2003). In seeking to identify practical strategies to respond to the challenges and opportunities facing the rural areas, and reduce rural poverty, international development agencies have similarly sought to understand the trends and development drivers bringing change to rural areas, and their varying degrees of integration with regional and urban economies (IFAD 2001, 2011, OECD 2006, World Bank 2007). The historical transformation of rural regions of Europe into a heterogeneous and economically diversified mosaic of areas experiencing different development trajectories, no longer wholly dependent on farming and linked in multiple ways to the growth of urban areas is now broadly acknowledged and documented in the policy and social science literature (OECD 2006, LEADER 2001, Lowe et al. 1995, Murdoch et al. 2003). Similarly, the emergence of a “new rurality” or “new rural world” in Latin America (IICA 2001, Graziano da Silva 1999) has been widely proclaimed and debated by scholars and development agencies in the region (Abramovay 2003, Veiga 2004, Schejtman and Berdegúe 2004 & 2008, Favareto 2007a).

The features of this new “rurality” include the declining overall economic importance of agriculture as a source of growth and employment, alongside growing demands for production of food, energy, and natural resources, in addition to the multiple uses of rural space for residential occupation, tourism, leisure, and, not least, environmental services and conservation. While some writers have foreseen the disappearance of the rural (Lefebvre 1980) as a result of the inexorable growth of cities, it is clear that the balance of global population is shifting fundamentally towns and cities, and that rural and that urban areas interact increasingly as a result not only of the flow of goods and services but also people, information, ideas and cultural values (Harvey 1989, Castells 1997, 2000). In this context, there has been active and on-going reappraisal of the nature and purpose of rural development, not only in the developed world where these changes are most advanced, but also in Latin America, the most urbanised region of the developing and emerging world. The

active engagement of geographers in these debates on both sides of the Atlantic, including in Brazil, has included a reappraisal of the changing significance and utility of concepts of territory, in terms of social belonging and dominion over space and place, and as units of analysis for understanding development processes (Sack 1986, Harvey 1989, Soja, 1989, Raffestin 1993, Santos 1992 & 2002, Brenner 1999, Haesbaert 2004, Massey 2005, Eldon 2005). The relevance of territory and territoriality for the development of a still largely agricultural region is the central concern of this thesis.

Rural areas today are evidently highly diverse; while some prosper others stagnate and the majority face complex sets of risks and opportunity (OECD 2006, Schejtman and Berdegue 2004 & 2008). Investments in agricultural growth and development, for instance through farm subsidies in the EU, or through redistributive land reforms in countries such as Brazil and South Africa, have been found to be insufficient in reversing the economic decline of rural areas. In order to address spatial inequalities, a variety of so-called territorial development approaches have emerged (Ray 1998, Schejtman and Berdegue 2004 & 2008, OECD 2006, Favareto 2007), focusing on the multifaceted and distinctive characteristics of different rural areas, their varied and still sometimes limited interaction with urban areas, and seeking to assist underdeveloped or “lagging” regions to address the challenges posed by increasing global economic integration. In contrast to traditional top down and sector-led approaches to development, territorial approaches adopt cross-sector perspectives and seek to engage with multiple actors to tackle the needs and opportunities of rural areas in a more holistic way, by addressing the full diversity of rural activities, including their interactions with towns and cities.

Despite urbanisation in all global regions, a high proportion of the world’s poor continue to live in rural areas (IFAD 2010), and serious attention to agriculture and food production remains fundamental to global development and wellbeing (World Bank 2007). The continuing importance of rural areas and the need to arrive at balanced and effective rural policy has been highlighted by rapid food price rises and threats to global food security (Foresight 2011). The management of rural land use as significant source of carbon emissions and an important carbon sink has also become critically important in stabilising global climate risk and establishing lower carbon development pathways (IPCC 2007, Chapter 5). At the same time, rural areas in the global south have become targets for inward capital investment as part of global efforts to secure food and energy supplies, and a drive to restore

growth and profitability to northern economies following the globalised economic crisis in 2008 and the ensuing protracted recession. These continuing trends, combined with urbanisation and diversification in developing countries, create challenges for territorial, landscape scale, natural resources and economic management in rural areas of developing and emerging nations.

This research documents and analyses dynamics of rural change in one specific area - the Jiquiriçá Valley in Bahia, NE Brazil, and offers a lens with which illuminates the broader processes of change facing rural areas, the co-construction of social institutions and practical notions of territory, and the features of sound rural policy in today's changing rural world.

The overall aim is to further knowledge and understanding of how the interaction of multiple factors and forces drives development in a rural territory of an emerging economy, how rural development practice can be improved to meet social, economic and environmental needs, and the implications for policy. The investigation draws on concepts and analysis from recent social theory and in social and political geography, and assembles a range of empirical data from the research site in Northeast Brazil to develop an analytical account of how change has taken place and an explanatory framework of potential broader applicability.

1.1.1 The Rural Territorial Dynamics Research programme

The field research undertaken in Brazil for this doctoral thesis was linked to a programme of research in Latin America on Rural Territorial Dynamics henceforth referred to as the RTD programme. This operated in eleven Latin American countries from 2008 to 2012, led by Rimisp, the Latin American Centre for Rural Development, based in Chile. In common with the wider objectives of this programme, my research focussed on the causes of apparently successful cases of rural development, understood as dynamic processes that combine sustainable rural economic growth and prosperity combined with reductions in poverty and in social and economic inequality (Rimisp 2008, Berdegué et al. 2012). Sustainable rural development, in this context, is considered as development that maintains its natural resource base over time, while remaining economically feasible and socially and politically legitimate.

The RTD programme undertook twenty different studies in eleven countries, including the case study in Northeast Brazil on which this thesis reports and reflects. Through these

investigations the programme aimed to generate evidence to answer two overarching questions:

- What determines successful territorial development - understood as development dynamics characterised by localised virtuous cycles of economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability?
- What sort of interventions and public policies can be effective in stimulating or promoting more successful territorial development?

The core hypotheses that the programme sought to test was that the distinguishing features of territorial development processes that combine successful outcomes of growth, poverty reduction, and greater social equality and all-round sustainability is the presence of coalitions of social actors that have been able influence the institutions governing development processes so as to improve distribution of and access to capital assets amongst local actors (Rimisp 2008). Accordingly, amongst the multiple factors affecting the development of rural areas, including geography, natural resource quality and availability, markets and policies, the specific forms of power relations between social groups, the development of network linkages amongst different actors, and cases of institutional change and innovation provided an interlinked set of themes for investigation. In addition, the RTD programme sought to engage with local and national level actors, draw on local knowledge, strengthen research capacity by engaging academics and research students, and to inform rural development policy and practice in the focus countries, while contributing to broader regional and international policy debates.

As a Rimisp associate, I participated directly in the design of the RTD research programme, development of its initial conceptual framework and the overall planning of the research. My association with the programme provided an opportunity to undertake empirical research at a doctoral level, and to interact with Latin American and other rural researchers in broader international and cross-disciplinary debates about rural development in ways not otherwise possible. I raised funds to enable me to undertake the research in Brazil, and put in place collaborative arrangements with local researchers who assisted with data collection, fieldwork and compilation of primary and secondary data, under my direction as Principal Investigator for the project.

In the following sections of this chapter I set out the overall background, in terms of thinking and analysis of rural change and associated policy analysis as an important context for my research, also discussing its relevance and how I came to it. The specific objectives and questions addressed are then detailed, and the focus and content of each subsequent chapter of the thesis are summarised.

1.2 Changing rural contexts and policies

As developing countries become more integrated into regional and global economies, urbanisation increases, and rural areas come to face divergent pressures, opportunities, constraints and development challenges to maintain prosperity, eliminate poverty and improve sustainability. Some regions, for instance productive hinterlands of major cities and those that are well integrated into export markets will be well placed to succeed. Other, more marginal regions may face the spectre of deepening poverty, economic decline and irreversible environmental deterioration. Moreover, the varying and diverse consequences of climate change, combined with global drives to ensure food security and overcome resource scarcity will accentuate the challenges to economic and social development in different rural regions (Foresight 2011). At the same time, new economic opportunities in renewable energy production and carbon sequestration through agro-forestry and improved land management are emerging. It is therefore pertinent to ask what sort of policies and development programmes can best address these challenges, and how local actors should be engaged. To answer these questions, better understanding of the causal factors and processes through which rural change takes place is required.

The World Bank (2007) in its World Development Report (WDR) on agriculture, identifies three categories of countries: agriculture based, now largely confined to sub-Saharan Africa; transforming countries, including China, India and much of Southeast Asia, North Africa and parts of Europe where the majority (over 2.2 billion) of the world's rural population live, but agriculture is no longer a major source of economic growth; and urbanising countries, including most of Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe, where agriculture contributes on average only five per cent of GDP. Nevertheless, the position of rural areas is far from even in any global region, and the World Bank finds evidence of the existence across global

regions of three types of rural world, in which farmers in each of these country categories are more or less numerous and integrated into markets to varying degrees. Despite universal urbanisation, according to IFAD (2010), some 3.1 billion people, or 55 per cent of the world's population, still live in rural areas. At least 70 per cent of the world's very poor people are rural, and ironically, the majority of these are concentrated in primarily agricultural countries.

New policy approaches have emerged in response to changing rural realities to address the territorial diversity of rural regions. Little attention has been paid, however, to the relevance of unfolding rural dynamics, policy approaches and emerging lessons for different global regions, despite rapid, uneven but arguably convergent social and economic trends changes affecting rural areas globally. In setting out the context for this research, and its relevance to contemporary development problems, the following three sub-sections review, in turn, discussions of changing dynamics and policy approaches to rural development in Europe and OECD countries, how these questions have been taken up in Latin America, and the limited attention paid to territorial diversity and place-based policies in development studies literature and international development policy.

1.2.1 Rural change and policy in OECD countries

In OECD countries agriculture typically represents only 10% of rural employment, and although more may live in rural areas, the service sector predominates economically, and rural and urban economies are interdependent and integrated in various ways (OECD 2006). Notably, rural GDP per capita declined as a proportion of national GDP, and transport development has enabled a more service-based rural economy to develop in which people work in cities, but increasingly live and spend time in rural areas, some of which are also now better able to attract investment. Rural areas of developed countries have become less self-sufficient, self-contained, and controlled sectorally by agriculture, and more open to the wider forces of the world economy (Ray 1998, Marsden 1999, Bryden and Hart 2001). Although agriculture has remained the principal rural land use, but has declined as a source of employment (López-i-Gelats *et al.* 2009). On-going and strongly directional processes of rural depopulation and land-abandonment in some regions coexist with mixed processes of urbanisation and counter-urbanisation increasing agricultural intensification and declines in biodiversity. There has been increasing privatisation of rural landscape and spatial amenity

leading to declines in informal community space and sense of place for many rural communities (Busch 2006, Bunce 2008,). External agents and factors are now primary in affecting changing rural-urban geographies and land use in developed countries, including incoming purchasers of residential and development land, government authorities responsible for infrastructure, transport and environmental regulation, and credit providers (Hansen and Brown 2005). Divergent agricultural models co-exist, with varying impacts on rural landscape, land-use, livelihoods, employment and social structures. Some authors suggest that these divergences make Europe's rural space a field of contestation amongst different political and regulatory institutions, bodies of knowledge and divergent rural economic agricultural paradigms (Marsden and Sonnino 2005). These include the dominant agro-industrial model supporting standardized production of food commodities for globalised markets, the increasing utilisation of rural space for urban consumption in a growing leisure, recreational and increasingly residentially oriented economy (Davezies 2009, Bosworth 2012) and more localised, sustainable and place-based approaches promoting distinctive food products and the evolution of territorial identity.

Significant amongst recent territorial development approaches is the European Union's LEADER programme which provides support to less developed regions in responding to the technological, economic, financial and political challenges of global market integration, including the weakening central power of the nation state (LEADER 2001). LEADER pioneered support to innovation and diversification in less developed rural regions (Ray 2000, LEADER 2001, Ortega 2004, OECD 2006, Carnegie Trust 2010) through a territorially focused, or place-centred approach, aimed at developing the competitiveness of diverse and distinctive rural territories in a context of growing regional and global economic integration. LEADER reaffirmed the importance of the local dimension in economic development (LEADER 2001 p.12-15) and sought to enable rural economic diversification, employment creation especially for women and youth, and livelihoods improvement in rural territories by combining local resources with transfers from the wider external economy. The programme adopted a characteristic and broadly successful method involving a focus on specific territories self-defined by local actors within targeted LEADER areas, and an approach to endogenous innovation through formation of local action groups and locally devised private-public - civil society partnerships, benefiting from decentralised financing (OECD 2006) and encouraging innovation and emergence of a new participatory enterprise culture (Ortega 2004).

The Organisation for Economic and Cooperation and Development (OECD), in its publication *The new rural paradigm: policies and governance* (OECD 2006), argued that a decisive shift in paradigms of how the development of rural areas should be understood and managed has been underway, and proposed a decisive policy shift towards place-based or territorial approaches, in order to increase the competitiveness of rural areas, add value to local assets and rural amenities, and improve exploitation of under-utilised resources of all kinds. Based on a review of socio-economic trends affecting rural areas, a set of case studies and comparative analysis of economic data, OECD considered continuing gaps in understanding, practical rural development challenges and set out a new paradigm for rural policy. This addresses the full range of rural sectors, not only farming, but also tourism, transport, public services, rural industries and communications technology, and seeks to engage all levels of government (national, regional and local, as well as supra-national or federal) and the full range of local stakeholders, through rural investments, as opposed to subsidies to the agricultural sector (OECD 2006 p.60).

Scholars at the University of Newcastle Centre for Rural Economy (CRE), investigating the growing interconnectedness of rural areas with broader regions and markets and established a concept of *neo-endogenous development* (Lowe *et al.* 1995, Ray 1998 & 2006, Murdoch *et al.* 2003, Bosworth 2012) to capture the interaction and the changing balance of exogenous and endogenous factors in shaping rural development trajectories in Europe in the contexts of urbanisation, regional integration and globalisation. López-i-Gelats *et al.* (2009) argue that the restructuring of Europe's rural areas continues to be contested, as multiple narratives of rural futures including agriculture centred; entrepreneur-led, environmental conservationist compete for dominance. The authors advocate application of a neo-endogenous development perspective in order to capture and understand the interaction of external demands and forces with local interests and processes and consider the most appropriate strategies for different rural territories. While the LEADER approach to rural development, originally focused on such remote and marginalised regions, has been taken up across European Union member states, it has now been advocated as a mainstream approach to rural development in the context of the reformed Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), post-2013 (Hubbard 2010). The territorial approaches pursued via the LEADER programme and by national governments to address different types of rural area have now become a focus of research to understand the policy and programme design ingredients of success in rural development including how to build collaboration amongst multiple actors (Ray 2000, Carnegie Trust 2010, Hubbard and

Gorton 2010). New typologies of rural regions have been developed to address widely varying mixes of agriculture and other economic activity and diversifying demographic and economic trends, to help orient territorially variegated policies (Scholz and Hermann 2010). These analytical perspectives have co-evolved with rural policy thinking in Europe and the diversity of development trajectories and likelihood of pluralistic rural futures are now increasingly recognised.

Concurrently, especially in more developed countries, *city-regional approaches* (Rodriguez-Pose 2008) to national territorial development, which tend to view rural areas as centred on cities, have become increasingly prominent in policy and planning in Europe and elsewhere, influencing DEFRA's perspectives on rural development in the UK. Although rural economy and society as structured increasingly by urban development and linkages, and city regional approaches are thus seen as attractive and pragmatic, they are likely to be of less use in more remote, less densely urbanised and more agricultural rural contexts, which can be strongly influenced by development of multiple small urban centres and more distant network linkages generated by agricultural markets, or in some cases by substantial "enclave" style investments in agriculture, forestry, tourism or mining which national policies continue to promote. In this context, observers also continue to criticise the persistence of "disintegrated rural development" in which sector policies fail to connect in local implementation and continuing gap between approaches centred on local actors and top-down macro regional planning (Shucksmith 2006 and 2010).

Similar trends of diversification and regional integration of rural areas, and indeed countervailing policy emphases on more decentralised and participatory place-based or territorial development, and more top-down sector led approaches, are observable today in all global regions. Although the changes affecting rural areas in the global South remain less extensive than those in Europe, the pace and scale of transformation of rural areas by urban, infrastructural and agro-industrial development in large emerging nations is rapid and dramatic, most notably in China, but also in Brazil and other Latin American countries. As a result, analysis of rural change and associated policy debates and approaches in Europe and OECD countries have increasingly being taken up and adapted by scholars and practitioners in Latin America.

1.2.2 New rural policy thinking in Latin America

In Brazil the concept of a “new rurality” was first discussed for Brazil by Graziano da Silva (1999, Graziano da Silva *et al.* 2002) and by Veiga (2004 a and b; 2002 a and b), who drew attention to a set of interrelated phenomena, including the diversification of rural activities and rural employment, declining dependence on agriculture, the growth of small and medium urban centres within essentially rural hinterlands, the growth of financial transfers into rural areas, the environmental importance of rural areas, the emergence of rural tourism and residential development and reductions and changes in rates and patterns of rural-urban migration.

Scholars concerned with Latin America have focused on the role of social and market networks and institutions in innovation, diversification and competitiveness in overcoming the development problems of rural regions and on the social and environmental quality of rural development (Abramovay 2003, de Veiga 2002 and 2004, Sepulveda *et al.* 2003, Schejtman and Berdegú 2004, de Janvry and Sadoulet 2004 and 2007). At the same time, rural-urban networks and wider regional or extraterritorial linkages established via markets, informal social institutions, trade and producer organisations and social movements have been identified as key factors affecting rural development (Schneider 2003). In 2001 the idea of the “new rural world” was taken up by the Inter-American Institute for Co-operation in Agriculture (IICA), which proposed a shift in rural development policy for Latin America as a whole towards a focus on specific territorial units and the integration of spatial development planning with broader social and economic rural development initiatives and programmes (IICA 2001). IICA also set out methodologies for territorial diagnosis and planning in response to changing rural realities and has continued to support reformulation of rural development strategy in various Latin American countries during the last decade.

Schejtman and Berdegú, (2004) provide a normative account of territorial development, defined as “*simultaneous processes of productive and institutional change with the aim of reducing poverty in rural territories*” (Schejtman and Berdegú 2004 p.31), which has been highly influential and a continuing important reference for both academic and policy debate for the Latin American region, and is one of the few significant Latin American papers to be translated into English (Schejtman and Berdegú 2008). The authors suggest a key role for decentralised policy making and institutions in rural development, and invoke a geographical

understanding of the concept of “territory”, as more-or-less discretely bounded geographic space displaying a set of common social and economic networks and environmental and cultural features networks constitutive of the social identity of its inhabitants.¹ Although they are concerned to establish a set of normative guidelines for rural policy and programme interventions in the region, these arise from a wide ranging review of available data on regional inequalities in economic performance, international experience, and the theoretical underpinnings of regional and local economic development and territorial development concepts and approaches. Schejtman and Berdegué (2004) concur that as in OECD nations (OECD 2006) the changes to rural areas in Latin America involve diversification from agriculture, growing significance of rural urban relations, and increasing social differentiation between and within rural areas, together with the emergence of new social and economic networks of actors including rural social movements which can be important repositories of social capital.

As in Europe, these types of change generate needs and opportunities for more participatory, integrated, diversified and territorially focused development approaches. Schejtman and Berdegué emphasise the roles of cross-sectoral coordination and actor participation in stimulating productive innovation and institutional development so as to build on rural areas’ distinctive characteristics and enhance their economic potential, aiming to counter balance centrally determined sectoral policies with more decentralised policy making, under the control variously of different politico-administrative regions, provinces, districts, municipalities or groups of municipalities. Territorial development thinking has resonated with policy makers across the region, and influenced approaches adopted by the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB 2004) and in FAO (FAO 2005). A growing number of countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia Ecuador and Mexico have now introduced some form of territorially oriented development policies and programmes, with the aims of reducing inter-regional inequality and reversing rural economic decline to bring about greater territorial coherence in national development as a whole, while catering for the specificities of a diversity of rural regions. In most cases these policies operate through

¹ The concept of territory in this sense is used more frequently in continental Europe and in Latin America than in UK. Different conceptions of territory are discussed in Chapter 2 which develops the conceptual framework for the research.

existing institutional structures of regional and local government to strengthen capacity for decentralised planning and decision making and putting in place new funding arrangements for development programmes, under the control of local stakeholders. In some cases policies also seek to extend citizen and community participation in decentralised planning, and establish arrangements for civil society and private sector engagement alongside government. Brazil has sought to promote the participation of hitherto excluded groups by introducing new institutional arrangements for cross municipal planning arrangements with a strong role for civil society.

In addition, a growing critical literature has emerged. Abramovay (2006) reviewed the scientific underpinnings of changing rural development policies in both Latin America and OECD countries, and concluded that despite a wide range of empirical accounts of the determinants of rural development, the continuing absence of a convincing theoretical framework to explain the differential trajectories of rural areas presents an obstacle to the critical analysis and evolution of rural development policy. Favareto (2007) traces the theoretical and historical evolution of rural development policy approaches and perspectives in both northern industrial societies and the Brazilian and Latin American context, including the emergence of territorial perspectives. He reviews the limited evidence so far available from empirical research into territorial development in Europe and Latin America, and suggests that greater economic diversification and lower concentration of capital assets favour growth scenarios which combine greater social cohesion and environmental sustainability, also highlighting the needs to develop an adequate theoretical framework to understand rural change, including its institutional dimensions and the need for further comparative research on the development of rural territories. Schejtman and Berdegué (2008) found that although a more systematic understanding of the dynamics of rural change is an essential foundation for effective rural policy, the scope for social actors, movements, organisations and networks to facilitate change by influencing and adjusting institutions governing rural development processes has remained a neglected topic of investigation. This forms a principle rationale for the Rural Territorial Dynamics Research programme, to which the research undertaken for this thesis contributed.

1.2.3 The rural in international development policy

Despite the surge of interest in territorially focused perspectives in the EU, OECD, Latin America and other emerging economies, and recognition of their importance by a number of international development agencies, they have received relatively little attention in development studies and international development policy generally.

In the late 1990s, as development policy emerged from the structural adjustment era rural development thinking became dominated by sustainable livelihoods approach centred on the capabilities and assets of individual actors and rural households (Scoones 1998, Carney 2002), as a result of limitations in the capacity and resources of the state and growing emphasis on the need for empowerment of the rural poor. Empirical assessment of the livelihood strategies of small farming and poor rural households reveals that they almost invariably rely to some degree on some form of non-farm activity, such as small-scale trade, or casual labour, in addition to consumption of goods and services originating in urban areas, and that temporary or permanent migration of household members are increasingly important in household economic strategies (Ellis and Biggs 2001, Ashley and Maxwell 2002). Similarly, the prevalence of “pluriactivity”, or multiple livelihood strategies, is well established in Latin America, the most urbanised of all developing regions. Here and elsewhere, the growth of small and medium-sized towns within rural areas is central to economic development, and where towns are absent as centres for public and private services, agri-processing and trade and emergence of manufacturing activities, economic development prospects are constrained (Davis and Rylance 2006).

Nevertheless despite the recognition in development studies literature of the importance of urban-rural linkages, the growth of the non-farm rural economy, and of urban migration, there has been little accompanying effort to understand the geographical diversity of development dynamics and outcomes, in order to guide rural development strategy and investment priorities. If anything, trends towards “de-agrarianisation” in Africa, (Bryceson 1999a, 1999b) and the disappointing record of agricultural development projects in terms of poverty impact have led international donors to de-prioritise rural development, and focussing instead on improving universal access to health and education as means to achieve the millennium development goals, and on enhancing the capabilities of people as opposed to taking a place-based approach and investing rural areas (Ellis and Harris 2004). Aid flows to

rural development in developing countries as a whole declined substantially during the 1990s, and between 2003 and 2006 only 3% of Official Development Assistance was devoted to agriculture. Poverty Reduction Strategies (joint instruments for donor organisations and recipient governments to manage aid budgets and prioritise spending) paid only limited attention to agriculture and specifically rural poverty (Global Platform on Rural Development 2008).

However in the late 2000s, growing concerns about global food security, food and energy price peaks, and the persistence of rural poverty gradually refocused policy attention on agriculture signaled by the World Bank's 2008 World Development Report on Agriculture (World Bank 2007). This report marked the World Bank's "rediscovery" of agriculture (IFAD 2011 p.37), following a 20 year decline in assistance to the sector. It advocated a technology-driven and private sector-led transformation of agriculture in developing countries, and the progressive integration of small-scale farmers where they had the capability into global markets. The drive for productivity gains, scepticism about the potential of small-scale farming to meet global food production needs (Collier 2008, Collier and Dercon 2009) and increasingly close collaboration between donor governments, international agribusiness and private sector foundations have consolidated a trend towards private sector led investment in agricultural research and development. Although approximately 70 per cent of the world's very poor people are rural (IFAD 2010), policy debates about agriculture have become largely detached from those about livelihoods and poverty, except in so far as agricultural productivity and market development offers a route to economic growth and food security.

There has however been a limited focus regional development and inequalities in development policy. Variations in agricultural and natural resource productivity, and geographical variations in access to markets, inequalities in levels of urban development have been recognised as sources of spatial inequalities between leading and lagging regions within national and regional economies and therefore of importance for development policy (see for example Brzeska and Fan 2007). A subsequent World Development Report on regional development (World Bank 2009) emphasized the role of economic geography in determining comparative advantage and applied "New Economic Geography" perspectives (discussed further in Chapter Two) and recommended investment in promoting economic agglomeration and increased agricultural production in higher capability regions. Although

regional inequalities and the constraints they impose are recognized, dominant development policy perspectives have tended to emphasise the free movement of labour, goods and services over increasing distances, together with delivery of targeted social protection for the poor (CPRC 2007, Hall, 2007). Despite the emergence of territorial perspectives in Latin America and in Brazil there has been only limited policy focus on addressing the social and institutional basis of inequality in rural areas by stimulating productive investment and broadening economic opportunity (Arbache 2003). While effective social income transfers have significant and political advantages and social importance in addressing poverty, they also risk continued dependence of marginalised regions and social groups on government transfers and international aid.

The shortcomings of development policies in addressing inter-regional and intra-rural inequality effectively derive in part from the absence of critical explanatory accounts of how and why development processes have the widely differing outcomes in different places. Economic analysis suggests that in addition to inter-regional inequalities and high levels of poverty in less favoured rural regions, social inequality in Latin America is not primarily regional in nature but occurs within localities (World Bank 2005, de Janvry and Sadoulet 2004, Elbers *et al.* 2004). As a result rural economic growth will have little benefit for poverty reduction in contexts marked frequently by severe inequalities amongst different social groups in access to capital assets such as land, infrastructure and finance, unless these inequalities are also tackled (de Janvry and Sadoulet 2004), suggesting that endogenous factors, including the distributive power of dominant actors and the roles of institutions should merit attention in rural development. Indeed not only in Latin America but elsewhere in the developing world are such that *existing* institutional and social power structures are ill-equipped to address the changing demands and impacts of urban and global economic development on rural areas, and the challenges and opportunities that these create.

Amongst development agencies, IFAD has advocated the need for rural and agricultural development policies globally to respond to “new realities” IFAD 2010 (p.14) including urbanization, the critical importance of rural areas for food production and global food security, and the effects of climate change.

“The changing nature of ‘rurality’ offers new opportunities for rural growth and poverty reduction. Democratization and decentralization processes have also created new opportunities in many developing countries, particularly for the emergence of organizations representing poor rural people, for better governance of rural areas, and for the empowerment of poor rural individuals and communities.” (IFAD 2010, p.15)

“Rural and urban areas are becoming increasingly interconnected socially and economically, which means that the nature of ‘rural’ is changing. Rural societies and economies are no longer so distinct; increasingly they interact on a regular basis with urban society – something made possible in large part by mobile telephony. They also depend on it: migration is a reflection of this interconnectedness, and remittances drive rural economies in many contexts. Conversely, sometimes large numbers of people living in urban and peri-urban areas live in conditions similar to those in rural areas in terms of services, infrastructure, markets and at least partial reliance on agriculture.....rural - urban linkages already constitute key aspects of the livelihood strategies of rural poor households.....” (IFAD 2010 p36-37)

IFAD believes that policies, investments and governance arrangements play a “crucial role” in “reducing risk and helping poor rural people to better manage them as a way of opening up opportunities” and that “new forms of collaboration between state and society also need to be cultivated, involving rural people and their organizations, the business sector and a variety of civil society actors. These are crucial for the development of effective tools for risk management and mitigation” (IFAD 2010, p.16).

Continuing use of rural livelihoods approaches in development research and civil society, and a limited resurgence of place centred approaches are evident however, together with interest in the value of political economy approaches, in understanding the constraints and opportunities imposed on development by dominant local actors and institutional frameworks (Keeley and Scoones 1999, Leftwich and Sen 2010, Harris 2013). FAO has stressed the importance of negotiated territorial frameworks and pacts in resolving conflicts of interest amongst different actors in rural areas (Groppo 2004). GIZ (2013) is another agency that has now endorsed the value of territorial approaches to development, and interest in territorial approaches has emerged in Nigeria, Benin and elsewhere in Africa (Quan *et al.* 2006, Chigbu 2011). From a somewhat different perspective, agencies concerned with issues of food policy, biodiversity sustainable and issues of resilience and adaptation to climate change, including CIFOR, Conservation International, FAO, IFAD the World Agroforestry Centre, World Resources Institute and USAID, now advocate development of landscape scale

approaches and development of sustainable mosaics of multiple land and natural resource uses so as to strengthen resilience and improve sustainability². These are goals recognised to be not fully achievable through sector-led approaches focussed on increasing productivity and incomes at plot and household levels.

Scoones (2009) in a retrospective assessment of livelihoods approaches concludes that they continue to be relevant, if they can grasp the questions of scale, the importance of knowledge transfer and the effects of politics in understanding of the dynamics and drivers of livelihoods trajectories. There is thus a need to link place-based analysis with dynamics that occur at broader scales in a globalized context, as political economy and history influence livelihoods in particular places (Scoones 2009). In this context, an in-depth understanding of what has brought about positive development outcomes in particular regions of Latin America, but not in others, and the question of how social institutions mediate impacts of national and global dynamics on rural areas and constraining or enabling participation of local actors in shaping territorial dynamics are pertinent to the quest for sustainable rural development globally.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

As stated at the outset, the overall aims of the research are to further knowledge and understanding of how the interaction of multiple factors and forces drives rural development in an emerging economy, the mechanisms through which development actors can improve rural development practice to meet social economic and environmental needs, and the implications for policy. Given the focus of the RTD programme on factors of success, case study regions, including that of the Jiquiriçá Valley in Bahia in Northeast Brazil, were selected for investigation (through a process described in detail in Chapter Four on the research methodology) based on indicators of successful performance in terms of economic growth, and reductions in both poverty and inequality. These and other characteristics made the Jiquiriçá Valley of particular interest as a case study area:

- A large part of the area, appears, according to national statistics, to have been developing successfully, over the last twenty years: the valley contains a cluster of municipalities

² See Landscapes for people, food and nature: an international initiative for dialogue learning and action <http://landscapes.ecoagriculture.org>; also the Global Landscapes Forum www.landscapes.org and <http://blog.cifor.org/14788/could-the-sustainable-development-goals-include-landscapes/> (4 April 2013).

which according to Brazilian national census data, and displays an unusual geographic concentration of positive trends in development indicators³: according to census data, poverty and inequality generally reduced during the 1990s, while the economy grew, in a large proportion of its constituent municipalities.

- It is a primarily agricultural region, with a large proportion of small-scale family farmers despite sharing highly unequal patterns of land ownership and economic development with much of the rest of NE Brazil.
- Under Brazil's territorial development policies introduced since 2003, the municipalities of Jiquiriçá valley have been designated as a territorial unit for planning purposes, a "*Territorio de Identidade*"⁴ - considered to have common economic features and shared social identity that provide scope to establish more participatory planning arrangements involving actors from different municipalities and sectors of society (MDA 2004, MDA 2005a), one of a large set of "embryonic projects for sustainable development and democratic participation that involve, besides production, aspects of culture and self-identity" (MDA 2006 p.104, author's translation).

These features make a Brazilian case study such as this of broader relevance. They suggest that a dynamic process may be underway through which the poor have become able to capture the gains of development, to which small-scale farming is making a significant contribution. The case study also offers an opportunity to assess the relevance and effectiveness of current rural policies, and their fit with and contribution to the dynamic processes driving the development of rural areas. The designation of the area as a territorial planning unit suggests that Brazilian rural policy in the mid-2000s might possibly have been ahead of the game and in tune with the ideas advanced by the RTD programme, by identifying and investing in the role of emergent social coalitions in establishing new institutional arrangements for actor participation in the management of rural change. This thesis applies geographical perspectives on territory and spatial development together with aspects of social and economic theory to advance explanations of how and why progressive

³ These are trends in average incomes, incidence of poverty and Gini Coefficients for income, in the 1990 and 2000 Brazilian national censuses, conducted by IBGE (the Brazilian national statistical organisation). More background on the development indicators and trends in the Jiquiriçá valley, together with an explanation of how it was identified as a research site are provided in Chapter 4, Methodology.

⁴ The Portuguese language designation used in Federal Policy and the State of Bahia; literally, "identity territory" or "territory of identity". In the text I tend to refer to the Jiquiriçá valley research area corresponding to the territory designated by government using the more commonly understood term "planning territory".

change has occurred in this specific case, and develops a critical analysis of the scope and limitations of policy induced change with reference to current Brazilian rural development policy with the goal of aiding the formulation of sound rural policy, and informing rural development practice.

To achieve these aims the research addressed three specific research questions:

i) *What combination of different factors, including the development of agricultural markets, changes in access to land and natural resources, linkages to urban areas, public policies and institutions, has led to positive development in the case study area?* In answering this question it is necessary to understand how the development trajectories of the valley have been shaped in practice, and consider the utility of the census indicators used by the RTD programme to characterise “successful” development and to identify the Jiquiriçá valley as a candidate for investigation.

ii) *Has the emergence of coalitions of social actors been significant in influencing and changing the institutions that structure social and economic development in the valley so as to achieve more inclusive and sustainable economic growth in the Jiquiriçá valley?* The research set out to identify and characterise empirically the operative social networks in the valley, the types of institutional change underway and the impacts they have, so as to assess whether or not and to what extent local coalitions of actors have stimulated virtuous territorial dynamics in the Jiquiriçá valley’s economic development.

iii) *What are the implications of the valley’s development dynamics for public policies in consolidating a more sustainable and socially inclusive local economy, and what light do the findings shed on Brazil’s rural policies more broadly?* The findings in relation to the first two questions are utilised to appraise the status of the Jiquiriçá valley, as an emergent rural territory and the relevance and effectiveness of current territorial development and other policies in consolidating socially inclusive growth. This involves assessment of the congruence of territorial development policy initiatives in Bahia with existing institutions and the changing geographies of economic development and social organisation in the valley, against the background of broader social, economic and political change in which it is enmeshed.

Following the selection of the Jiquiriçá valley as a case study area, there were three procedural elements or stages to the research:

a) To assemble a conceptual framework, grounded in the literature with which to analyse the driving forces and determinant factors of rural development outcomes. A broad framework was developed based on the involving the key elements of actors, institutions and capital assets proposed by the RTD programme to address changing development outcomes in specific geographical areas. The analysis draws on recent discussions in social and political geography of the notions of territory and human territoriality, its changing significance and the interactions of processes at multiple geographic scales in the context of global integration, and also on work in social and economic theory that is helpful in understanding processes of institutional change and development, the role of collective action and the emergence of social coalitions.

b) To utilise this framework to orient and subsequently interpret an empirical assessment of the dynamic factors, and spatial diversity that can be observed processes and development outcomes in the Jiquiriçá Valley including the roles of geographical factors, market development and economic networks, asset distribution public policies and the nature and impacts of social movements, networks and broader actor coalitions. This involved the collection, analysis and interpretation of a wide range of primary and secondary data.

c) Development of a critical perspective on the aims, assumptions and conceptual underpinnings of rural development policies, and specifically the territorial development policies applied to the research area in Brazil. This assessment utilised both the primary data on actor perspectives and the findings of other research, both within the RTD programme and conducted independently of it, to consider the opportunities and challenges in devising effective institutional arrangements for the governance of development processes, and draw some broader conclusions about the relevance of the research to contemporary rural policy.

1.4 Origins and relevance of the research

The research has societal importance in the context of renewed policy interest in agriculture and rural development (World Bank 2007, IAASTD 2008, IFAD 2010) that has resulted from the recognition of the changing but continuing importance of rural areas for global

development and sustainability, not only in Brazil and Latin America, but in international development policy as a whole. As discussed in Section 1.2, given advancing globalisation, growing urbanisation, and the declining but continuing importance of agriculture in rural economic growth, rural areas are becoming increasingly integrated into regional economies and the broader global economy. While risking the loss of rural and regional characteristics and identities, or even the potential obliteration of rural areas as such, this also creates opportunities to invest in, consolidate and enhance their distinctive features as potential assets in their economic and social development.

In addition, as developing countries become gradually less dependent on official development aid, and the balance of international cooperation shifts south-south, self-determined national institutional frameworks for managing development are becoming more important. In this context, lessons of territorial analysis and policy approaches to development from Latin America and elsewhere are likely to be increasingly significant, giving this research societal relevance. In the remainder of this section I discuss aspects of my own professional work in rural development which led me to undertake this research in Northeast Brazil and the state of Bahia, my rationale for doing so, and its specific relevance.

1.4.1 Origins in professional engagement and previous work

At a personal level, this doctoral research project emerged from approximately 25 years of practical engagement in practice with rural development internationally, and curiosity to examine the relevance and utility of social theory in understanding the diversity of rural space, the prospects for sustainability in rural development, and the experiences of rural people in terms of prosperity and well-being.

From the practical point of view, the research was both feasible and pertinent from my personal and professional point of view, since I had been engaged in research and practical development work in Brazil, and specifically in Bahia on a recurrent part-time basis there for almost ten years prior to beginning the project. As a result I had knowledge and experience of working in Brazilian Portuguese, familiarity with the working, policy and institutional environment for rural development, and a network of contacts. This enabled me to access advice from experienced researchers, manage the logistics of the research, and recruit research assistants (a small group of Masters and undergraduate students) living in the project

area, who could in turn assisted in providing local knowledge and facilitate contacts with a wide range of local informants.

My previous research and practical work focussed for some ten years (1996 to 2006 approximately) on themes of access to land and natural resources, agrarian reform, and the formalisation of tenure rights (see for instance Toulmin and Quan 2000, Quan 2005). While land reforms, historically, have transformed productive relations in rural society in various countries, unequal access to land continues to limit productive opportunities for poorer rural people, and the growth of industrial and service sectors, rural-urban migration and better social policies have provided alternative sources of income. Governments have found it increasingly difficult to mobilise financial resources for and legitimate redistributive agrarian reforms against political resistance in contexts in which commercial agriculture makes important contributions to national economic development. As a result, large-scale land reforms are no longer pursued as policy options in even in countries which maintain limited programmes and for land redistribution such as Brazil and South Africa.

In parallel with work on land tenure and policy, I was also engaged in a project in Bahia that attempted to shape new institutional arrangements to manage development and sustain ecological and landscape resources of an environmental protected area in Bahia's Northern Coast⁵, (The *APA* or *Area de Proteção Ambiental do Litoral Norte*) a predominantly rural area of high conservation and tourist value, subject to increasing external investment and rising land values. Here, despite sporadic popular demands for land reform and struggles to secure access to natural resources such as palm fibres, wetland plants, and shellfish gathered from enclosed, privately owned land, the rural population as a whole became gradually more integrated into the broader regional economy, as it transformed. The *APA* incorporated large parts of five contiguous municipalities and was linked by a new major highway, but, as a conservation area, it cut across municipal boundaries, and except in one case, where the municipal urban centre was located on the coast, the management and development planning of the rural coastal area did not fit well with local government priorities. Moreover the conservative Bahia state government was unwilling to institute standing arrangements for participation by local residents and interest groups in investment and related planning

⁵ This project, *The development and planning programme for Bahia's Northern Coast Environmental Protected Area (APA Litoral Norte)* operated from 1998 – 2002 inclusive coordinated by CONDER – the Bahia State Government's urban development company, with financial support and technical assistance from DFID, the UK Government Department for International Development.

decisions. Only later, following the election of Brazil's and subsequently Bahia's first Workers Party Governments, did Bahia instigate territorial development strategies to facilitate democratic transformation of rural areas by strengthening social participation in policy making and planning, to improve their adaptation to local circumstances and opportunities⁶.

Work I undertook for DFID's Rural Livelihoods Department and Country Programmes in both South Africa and Brazil in the period 2002 -2004 examined how and in what circumstances distributive land reform could be successful and a key conclusion was that success depended on effective support to integrate newly resettled farmers and the rural communities developing around them into agricultural markets and the broader rural economy. This led to a subsequent DFID assisted research project on Land reform and Territorial Development undertaken from 2005 to 2007. This enquired into the congruence of land reform and broader rural economic development, at a time when innovations in rural policy were on the agenda in each country, through the renewal of agrarian development policies including the introduction of territorial approaches in Brazil, and the "Integrated Development and Reconstruction Programme" and municipal partnerships for local economic development in South Africa. The project asked: what land reform contributes to territorial development and what the broader development of rural territories implied for land reform. Based on three case studies undertaken in Northeast Brazil and two in South Africa, the research found that programmes for land reform and for local economic development were pursued entirely in parallel, without reference to each other, despite the widespread demand for improvements in access to land amongst rural populations, and acknowledgment by both national and local policy makers that the two objectives should very much be pursued together in synergy (Quan 2008). That research, together with earlier professional experience, led me away from a sector focus on land and agricultural development and towards a concern with the broader character and functions of rural space, the social and

⁶ These new territorial development policies however had no effective influence over State level planning decisions by the Secretariat of State for Tourism, although these did require environmental approvals and consultation with the local municipalities. the idea of an area wide management council, with representation of local civil society organisations, and a suite of economic, social, infrastructural and environmental projects based on broad consultations undertaken by the project, required too many simultaneous democratic innovations to succeed. The principal driver of planning decisions was the promise of economic returns from large-scale tourism development. Although after Bahia also elected a Worker's Party Government in 2006, the programme drawn up by the *APA Litoral Norte* project initially found favour with the State Planning Secretariat, it was subsequently abandoned:

economic links between rural areas and other places, the specificities of rural places and regional integration.

In contemporary development policy and research, concerns with land reform have given way to a focus on investment to boost agricultural productivity and market development, and associated concerns for rural service delivery and the governance of land and natural resources to ensure that social protection and environmental sustainability objectives can be met. In parallel the focus of rural social movements and associated actors in government and development agencies in Brazil and elsewhere has also shifted from a more single minded preoccupation with land access and agrarian reform, towards the broader problematic of territorial development.

Whereas land and land reforms are not a central focus of this research, it is concerned with how institutionalised forms of land tenure and resource utilisation in combination with other factors have shaped development trajectories of the Jiquiriçá valley and its people. In practice, as shall be seen, agrarian structure has been an important underpinning factor underpinning territorial dynamics and institutional development in the case study area, and the governance of land and natural resource-based development processes remains central to my own trajectory as a researcher, leading to this thesis.

1.4.2 Why Northeast Brazil is relevant

Brazil is a pertinent focus for the research in that the Federal Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) has introduced, from 2003 onwards, a set of explicit territorial development policies. These were subsequently broadened to include other sectors of government, and have also been adopted by a number of state governments including Bahia. This has been part of a broader process of policy renewal, democratic development, economic growth and social investment which aims to overcome deep social, economic and inter-regional inequalities.

The Northeast is historically the poorest region of Brazil. This is the combined result of historical control of the economy by powerful ruling landowner elites, very high levels of inequality in access to land and other assets, and low rainfall, low agricultural productivity, and high vulnerability to periodic droughts across much of the region, leading to entrenched poverty, and to episodes of mass rural destitution and large-scale urban migration. The state

of Bahia, the historical centre of imperial Portuguese rule, where the economy was founded on slavery, typifies these inequalities. Following the end of slavery the majority of former African slaves and their descendants became urbanised, while others migrated to the interior in search of land and farm employment. The vast amount of wealth and economic activity has been concentrated in urbanised, coastal areas (Porto 2003; Athayde & Machado 2004, Athayde 2007); as a result, despite continuing urban poverty, much of the social and economic inequality can be described as inter-regional, urban-rural inequality. Before, during and after Brazil's military dictatorship, which ended in 1986, Bahia's economic development was managed by successive conservative governments which concentrated public and private investment in and around the state capital of Salvador, while also channelling resources to the interior for infrastructure, energy production, and mining development and assisting development of high value agriculture in a handful of locations. Business opportunities and the benefits of growth were distributed strategically within the ruling coalition's network of allies and client municipal prefects so as to guarantee the maintenance of political support.

The historical legacy of this unequal development process is not atypical of northeast Brazil as a whole, and creates huge challenges for the territorial development of rural areas. Although Salvador is Brazil's third city and Bahia is the state with the third largest economy, rural areas and the majority of their inhabitants, with few exceptions, remain extremely poor. National elections at the end of 2006 signalled a historical political shift in Bahia to government by a Workers Party (PT)-led coalition directly aligned with the ruling Federal government, which was subsequently returned to power at the end of 2010. State government has introduced a set of policies to maintain growth and reduce social inequality, reflecting those of the Federal Government, while at the same time struggling with the institutional legacies of Bahia's established political and economic development model. This is the context in which the research seeks to understand how and why the agricultural region of the Jiquiriçá valley developed as it did, and the impacts that rural social change, and associated processes of policy renewal may have had.

The course of rural development in Brazil, and its successes and failures are of wider significance and of interest in this research for two principal reasons. First, as a large federal nation, Brazil illustrates the tensions and synergies which can exist between different levels of government and different policies, and the challenges of linking fiscal and administrative

decentralisation to territorial development. Contemporary Brazil offers an opportunity to explore the interaction of state policies and initiatives to promote participatory territorial development with territorial identities constructed historically through the occupation and utilisation of rural space, economic networks, and the existing politico-administrative territorial structures.

Second, as an emerging nation, the dominant regional power and a rapidly developing player on the world stage, Brazil's rural dynamics have much in common with those of both developed and developing countries. While the importance of agriculture is diminishing as a source of employment and rural economic growth, its transformation into high value export agri-business accounts for a significant and growing share of national wealth creation. As rural areas diversify new opportunities emerge, linked to the development of agri-food systems, residential occupation, environmental conservation, and tourism, energy production and the contours of a "new rural world" (Graziano da Silva 2002) emerge with much in common with those of Europe. At the same time, although the balance of population growth has shifted to urban areas, in common with developing countries, small-scale farmers remain responsible for production of the large proportion of staple and other food production for domestic and regional markets, and rural people remain substantially dependent on farming and sustainable access to agricultural markets for both cash incomes and household food security.

1.5 Outline of following chapters

Chapter Two reviews relevant geography and recent social science literature to develop the conceptual framework drawing on concepts of territory, theories of social practice institutional change and debates on the role of social capital, economic geography and institutional change in development, in a number of different theoretical traditions.

Chapter Three provides an outline of the emergence of territorial development perspectives and policies in Brazil and an overview of the Jiquiriçá valley's characteristics as a case study area, based the secondary data available at the outset and an early, reconnaissance visit during fieldwork. This includes brief characterisation of a number of relatively distinct sub-regions drawing on local actor's perspectives and field observations, and also discernible in the secondary data.

Chapter Four sets out the methodology, providing the rationales for selection of the Jiquiriçá valley as the case study site, adoption of a case study, mixed methods approach, and for the focus adopted in a second stage of field research on a group of five contiguous municipalities in the east and centre of the valley. The chapter goes on to document the specific methods used in each different component of the research.

Chapter Five addresses the first principle research question of why this cluster of municipalities exhibited substantially uniform positive trends, in terms of indicators of growth, poverty reduction and reducing inequalities from the 1990s onwards. This is addressed through analysis, discussion and interpretation of: a) changes over time in agricultural census and municipal data on agricultural production, land ownership and distribution, and the performance of the agricultural and service sectors in different municipalities; and b) the relevant findings, of informal surveys of rural communities and urban traders, and key informant interviews conducted in the five focus municipalities. Using triangulation of primary and secondary data an analytic narrative is developed on the development and diversity of agriculture, markets, and rural livelihoods in the valley, and the specific roles played by:

- Economic geography (natural resource productivity, proximity to markets and infrastructure);
- The changing dynamics of domestic and international markets for key agricultural commodities produced (notably cocoa and coffee);
- The distribution of land and property rights;
- Federal policies and public investment on development opportunities and outcomes in terms of economic growth, productive inclusion and social welfare, and;
- The environmental costs of agricultural development, which threaten to the sustainability of agricultural production.

Chapter Six addresses the second principle research question of how far social actors and the emergence of social coalitions have shaped the course and outcomes of development in the

case study area. It focuses on whether or not, where and how local actors have been able to influence and change the institutions that structure social and economic development in the valley in ways that promotes more inclusive and sustainable local economic growth. This is addressed by:

- Charting the development of a local rural social movement in the eastern part of the valley, and the extent to which it has been able to forge alliances and partnerships with other actors, drawing on interview data.
- Analysing the results of a study of social networks and participation in territorial network organisations within the valley, and the roles these have had in institutional change and innovation
- Assessment of partnership projects and institutional innovations identified in the eastern Jiquiriçá valley and the role that local coalitions of actors have played, based on information obtained through informant interviews and the rural community survey

Chapter Seven takes up the third research question regarding the policy implications of the research findings drawing on the social network analysis reported in the previous chapter, interviews undertaken with policy actors from State and Federal government and in the valley itself, and findings of other research on territorial development in Brazil. It contextualises the findings in relation to those of other studies on territorial development in Brazil and considers critically the scope and limitations of current territorial development policies in productive inclusion, and discusses the challenges to government and social movements in bringing about appropriate institutional development to achieve more equitable and sustainable territorial development.

Chapter Eight summarises the principle answers to the research questions provided by the study's findings, and reflects on the strengths and limitations of the methodology adopted, the utility of the conceptual framework, and the relevance of the research for rural development policy and practice in Brazil and Latin America more broadly and for other regions. It considers the specific contributions made by this project in context of the overall findings of the Rural Territorial Dynamics programme, and the overall theory developed to explain how

territorial development trajectories that combine growth with social inclusion can come about. The chapter concludes with suggestions for a continuing research agenda to deepen understanding of the drivers of inclusive and sustainable rural development and the opportunities for progressive institutional change and development to strengthen rural governance in the light of contemporary development trends.

Chapter 2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to:

- a) identify and briefly discuss the principle concepts and perspectives from the literature in social, political and economic geography, and in social theory more generally, that are relevant to understanding rural development trajectories of specific areas, regions and places, and;
- b) assemble a conceptual framework, grounded in existing theories of social and economic change and the geography of rural space, that can be used to orient the conduct of enquiry into and analysis of the driving forces and determinant factors of development processes in specific locations, regions or territories, including the roles of institutions, social movements actor coalitions and public policy.

The first of the chapter part focuses on ideas of territory in social and political geography, and concepts of the social construction and economic organisation of space. These include debates about places, flows and the role of networks in determining multiple, uneven development trajectories, the place of the “New Economic Geography”, questions of scale, and processes of globalisation and associated deconstruction and reconstruction of territory and territorial identities.

The second part of the chapter draws on recent work in social theory and economic sociology of relevance to understanding the dynamics of rural development, including the combination of agency and structure in the theory of practice and the idea of fields as developed by Pierre Bourdieu, and concepts of social capital. It discusses concepts of institutions, path dependency, institutional change, and the role of collective action, social movements and of broader coalitions and networks of actors in influencing and bringing about different types of change, including action by the state and public policies in establishing systems of governance and influencing development outcomes. A third and final part of the chapter brings the key concepts together to refine the framework for empirical examination of the drivers and geographical dimensions of development dynamics in the case study areas and develop a critical understanding of territorial development policy and practice.

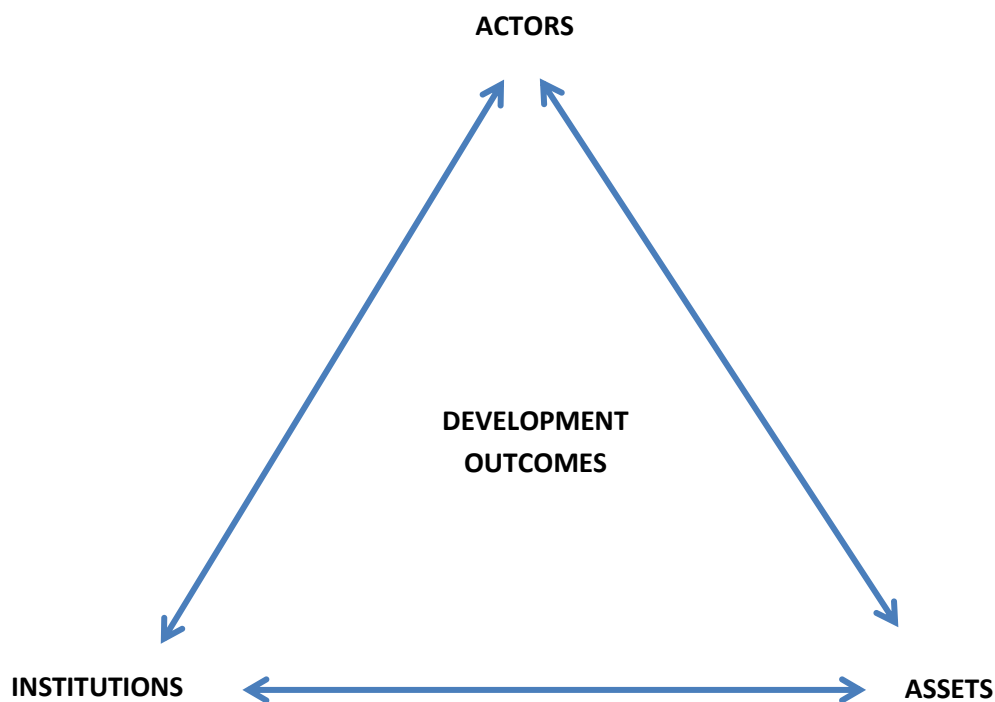
As stated in Chapter One, the broad aim of the research is to shed light on how and why rural areas in developing and emerging countries develop in the ways that they do, and on the ingredients of success, understood in terms of improvements in prosperity, social inclusion and sustainability. It seeks to do this through an in-depth focus on a territorially specific case for which it investigates and identifies: i) the main drivers of development and their effects; ii) the particular role played by development actors and the mechanisms by which they can influence and bring about institutional changes; and considers iii) the policy implications.

The area selected for study, the Jiquiriçá valley in Bahia in Northeast Brazil, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, displays for a large cluster of municipalities an apparently virtuous cycle of progressive territorial development at the end of the 20th Century, which involved increases in average incomes combined with reductions in poverty and in many cases also reductions in inequality. The research seeks to identify the underlying development dynamics which have led to these outcomes, the relative importance of different factors, and including geographical features, the control and distribution of land and natural resources, market development and policy factors, and if and how local actors participate in coalitions that have brought about institutional changes affecting social and economic development of the area.

The concepts reviewed here are discussed in relation to the conceptual framework developed by the Rural Territorial Dynamics programme (2007-2012) to which my research was linked and contributed a case study, and which addressed similar research questions, but at the level of Latin America as a whole. This programme focussed from the outset on changing interactions of social actors, institutions and capital assets of different kinds (including land and natural resources, but also other forms of economic capital, cultural capital and other intangible assets). Based on these three basic concepts of Actors, Institutions and Assets, the RTD programme developed a detailed conceptual framework which drew on a wide range of literature, used to help orient the methodology of the various case studies undertaken under the auspices of the programme, including this one. The aim was to investigate how, over time and amongst other factors driving rural development processes, the changing relations of actors and institutions affects the distribution of assets and access to opportunities, and thereby leads to changing development outcomes in rural areas, in terms of economic growth, levels of poverty and social inequality, in addition to the impacts on the natural environment and the sustainability of productive systems and practices (Rimisp 2007, 2008). This framework influenced my approach to and reading of the relevant literature. The diagram

below provides a simple visual representation of this framework put forward by Rimisp (2008). A more developed representation of the framework is given in Fig 2.2 in the conclusion to this chapter, and specific key concepts within the large range of literature summarily reviewed by the RTD programme are discussed below.

Fig. 2.1 Simple schematic representation of interactions of changes in social relations, access to assets and institutions with territorial development outcomes (source: RIMISP 2008).



At the outset, key elements of the framework, notably the nature of social coalitions, institutional changes and the processes by which these influence development dynamics and outcomes within specific places and regions, were all to an extent under-theorised. Similarly, the nature of the “territories”, or geographical spaces with a corresponding social identity (Schejtman and Berdegué 2004) as spatial units of analysis to be investigated within which development outcomes and processes could somehow be measured and analysed was not fully defined. In the end, the research itself served to enrich the concepts and as the

programme concluded, much greater clarity was achieved, alongside a classification the diverse and in some cases complex territories investigated. Because the assumptions behind the relatively simple hypothesis that “progressive” social coalitions are needed to achieve inclusive growth, poverty reduction and improvements in sustainability within specific areas involved a conceptually complex causal chain, it was necessary to delve more deeply into the literature for clues as to how to operationalize the concepts empirically in a case study. This required enquiry into literatures in social geography and social theory, focussing on the concepts of territory, institutions and social coalitions, the allied phenomena of collective action, social movements and networks, and on conceptions of public policy, social participation, and democratization. The RTD programme synthesised and began publishing its findings in 2012, and around this time work by other researchers addressing similar topics also appeared. Thus in setting out the framework for analysis of the data and findings reported in this thesis, I was able to draw on both prior literature review and more recent analysis, approaching the subject matter with an element of wisdom of hindsight.

The conceptual framework for the research is grounded in existing knowledge and literatures concerned with questions of: territory and territoriality in social, political and economic geography (discussed in Section 2.2); theories of social practice and reproduction (discussed in Section 2.3.1), including the nature and role of social capital (discussed in Section 2.3.2); the nature of institutions and of institutional change (discussed in Section 2.3.3); ideas of social participation (discussed in Section 2.3.4), and the role of social organisations of different kinds in rural society and in relation to public policy (discussed in Section 2.3.5).

A central concept is that of the co-constitution of social and spatial relations or mutual “embedding” of social and spatial organisation of human society and its relationship to the physical world (Rafestin 1983, Lefebvre 1991, Allen 2003). This concept is necessary to address unfolding territorial development processes, the role of social action, place of institutions and the significance of place for policy.

2.2 Relevant concepts in the geographical literature

2.2.1 Ideas of territory and territoriality

The increasing prevalence of notions of territory in rural development policy and the frequently loose and ambiguous use of the term calls for closer examination of concepts of

territory and their meanings in geography, in relation to their use in policy and development discourse. The concept of territory, in the sense of geographically grounded social identity, as opposed to a bounded space subject to specific politico-administrative power and control, and the idea of territorial development, have much greater currency and resonance in francophone, lusophone and Hispanic literature and linguistic traditions than they have in Anglophone literature, in which the notion of territory is largely confined to social geography, socio-biology and political science.

The idea of territory has been defined and used in different ways by different writers and different disciplines. The concept of territory as used in the social sciences borrows from what the Brazilian geographer Haesbaert (2006) describes as the “naturalistic conceptions” of ecology and social biology, in which territory is considered as the physical space which provides the resources for the survival and reproduction of animal social groups. Territory in this biological sense is not precisely bounded, and in geography, human territory is often treated analogously, to refer to the occupation and utilisation of space by formally or informally constituted social groups and organisations.

However a distinguishing feature of human societies’ relationships to the natural world is the organised social or political control over physical space and natural resources. This is the principle usage of the concept of territory in Anglophone literature, derived from Political Science, specifically from Political Geography, and referring to geographical spaces at various scales, that are subject to control by some form of institutionalised power; in other words the control of space by a political, administrative or social authority. In colloquial usage, outside of biology, territory refers to geographical spaces controlled by the nation state: national territories with which the subjects and citizens of the state identify and within which they have rights and obligations. Historically, however, the nation state has not always been the dominant form of territoriality, and pre-modern political formations such as city states and imperial trading networks have also exercised political and economic control over broader territories and dispersed locations, without enfranchising them politically or encouraging a sense of identification with the state in the way that the modern nation state has done (Hirst 2005, Brenner 2011).

What most definitions of territory have in common is an aspect of shared social recognition of a designated, although not necessarily precisely bounded geographic space by social actors

and organisations. Territory is not simply a combination of geographical space and physical resources, but space and resources on which some social group depend and exercise some form of control or authority. Implicit in this are the ideas of social identification with geographical space and the social construction of territory, which may in turn lead to the development of political authority, economic relations and specific forms of cultural symbolism and modes of communication.

Development studies and development policy tend to utilise broad conceptions of territory drawing on a variety of disciplinary uses. Development organisations concerned with the governance and control of land and natural resources, for instance, have defined territory in the following ways:

Territory may be viewed in legal, social and cultural contexts as the area where an individual or community lives. It is generally contended that human beings are territorial, and that territoriality is therefore an innate characteristic of individual and social organisation. Territory exists at various levels, that of the state, through intermediate levels of local government, and at the lowest level individuals, and implicitly, for different social groups. Territoriality is also “expressed in the different forms of property ownership enjoyed by individuals and groups, and by the different ways in which the use of real estate is regulated at different levels of social and political organisation. (FAO, 2003 p.54)

The term ‘territory’ can be used in four ways: “to define an extensive area where a human community live”; “a rural area over which an authority is exercised”; or, in human and behavioural science, as “the space within which individuals or groups carry out their activities” and which is, “in general, defended against other individuals of the same species.” In pastoral and livestock systems, territory can be defined as: “a structured environment which holds contrasting resources and constraints in space and time....of value to the herding group”. In addition, the francophone literature distinguishes between the notion of terroir – the assemblage of land and natural resources considered as pertaining to a specific village, family or local community and territoire – the territory of a broader social group or organisation, more akin to the anglophone “territory” and still applicable at different scales. (IIED, 2000)

The concept of human territoriality in social geography has been explored and elaborated by Robert Sack (1992). Sack defines territoriality as efforts by groups to affect, influence or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over geographic areas – a social strategy for managing or regulating differential access to space. For Sack the essential features of territoriality are: i) some sort of classification of space by area; ii) some form of communication or visual or physical signs indicating boundaries or claims of jurisdiction; and iii) attempts to enforce control over access to the area or things

within it, or to influence interactions between people or with resources in the area. Sack views territoriality as the primary spatial expression of power, a relational concept fundamental to social geography, and notes that geography should not confuse spatial behaviour with territorial behaviour, which is embedded in particular sets of social relations.

Sack's concept of territory is close to its classical use in political science, implying control over activities within and flows of people, goods and resources in and out of geographically bounded space. However social geography also accommodates other dimensions of territoriality, deriving from shared perceptions of and subjective identifications with geographic space, rather than from forms of political authority and the territorial state. Haesbaert (2006) describes these as "idealistic" or socially constructed notions of territory, in which territoriality can pertain to a variety of formally or informally organised or networked social actors with shared subjective identification with a geographic space and common interests in the course and outcomes of processes within it. Similar perspectives tend to predominate in anthropological work on territory; Balandier (1997 [1988]) for example focuses on the symbolic appropriation of space by particular social groups and the resulting close relationships between cultural and territorial identity. Utilising similar perspectives, social geographers have examined the territoriality of a variety of formally or informally organised social groups, corporate bodies and government agencies, informal social organisations, ethnic and demographic groups (such as street gangs), spatially or thematically constituted social "communities", organised social movements, and networks of community-based organisations.

In developing theories of social construction of space, first set out by Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), writers focussing on the territorial organization of economic production and influenced by Marxist political economy perspectives, such as Claude Raffestin (1993 [1980]) and the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos (1992, 1996, 2002), regard territory as a field of interacting and conflicting forces. Similarly, Haesbeart (2004) argues that actors' shared recognition of and identity with a common geographical space does not necessarily reflect shared interests, but instead, the combined interaction of different social and economic forces and interests shapes the development of territories and the destinies of their constituent social groups. These shifting processes of social construction imply that the boundaries, scales and configurations of territories are not fixed. Raffestin (1993) conceives the organisation of space as a territorial system, composed of overlaid and intersecting territories

established at different scales. He criticises classical political geography as concerned with the geography of the state, singling out the American tradition of geographical thought for its limited conception of human territoriality founded on analogy with biology, and focusing on the organisation of spatial spheres of interest in more or less exclusive territories, reflected in western conceptions of territorial control and property rights. Raffestin advocates abandonment of the biological analogy for human territory and instead proposes a relational geography, arguing that territorial systems and property rights are not relationships between social actors or the state and physical space, but essentially the products of social relations. In this view territoriality is something manifest at all social and spatial scales and is very much subject to change over time. In this relational geography, the actions and practices of social actors can be considered to result in the construction of a territorial system, described as a system of textures, nodes and networks that is differentiated functionally and hierarchically to organize territory according to the interests and priorities of different groups and individuals.

Haesebaert (2002, 2004) proposes an “integrative” concept of territory which draws on different disciplinary perspectives combining the political domination of space, the symbolic cultural appropriation of physical space and social identification with it, and in which territory is always in some way socially constructed. This approach combines political dimensions of spatial control emphasised in political science, symbolic and cultural perspectives on territorial identity of social groups, and economic perspectives on territorial division of labour, building on the ideas of the various authors discussed above.

The idea of territory, whether conceived as a geographical political- administrative unit, or a space of in which multiple forces interact, and independently of scale, implicitly involves the notions of power, and of power relations amongst between social actors. In social geography, power has been treated not as an innate force or thing which certain actors possess but as a relational concept denoting the utilisation of resources or assets of different kinds, deployed to gain advantage or control over others, through diverse processes of coercion, political domination and authority, persuasion, negotiation, or manipulation, in the changing construction of social space (Allen 2003). Similar relational conceptions of power, reliant on the accumulation and use of various forms of economic, physical, social and symbolic capital to gain advantage within particular fields, territorialised or otherwise, have been developed by social theorists such as Bourdieu (1991b, 2001), and are discussed in section 2.3.1 of this chapter.

Allen (2003) contends, however, that power is inherently spatial, and spatial relations are imbued with power. Because power involves the mobilisation of resources to achieve specific objectives across spatial and social distance, Allen (*ibid.*) speaks of diverse topographies of power, formed by the interplay of individuals and groups across geographic space, rather than a scalar landscape in which power is transmitted through fixed distances from centre to periphery. Actors are able to utilise multiple, territorially embedded resources to accumulate and exercise power in decentralised ways, and there are other sources of power other than the political institutions of the centralised state (Allen 2003, Ch4). In these ways, certain groups are able to dominate space, by representing it or coding it so as to suggest that only certain groups are present, or have significant interests in the way that particular spaces and places are to be developed, and are able to control the resources present to reproduce their territorial domination. Importantly, with reference to the research question regarding how territorial coalitions of actors can influence institutions and development outcomes, Allen (*ibid.* Ch8) notes that local territorial power can be counterposed to national power, which is mediated locally by actors with distinct interests and agendas of their own. In addition, “empowerment” of the less powerful can occur through associational arrangements which are spatially nuanced.

To conclude this discussion - the social, political and cultural construction of territory involves the unfolding of power relations amongst social actors, processes central to understanding the development processes which shape territorial development. Social relations of control, appropriation and use of assets and resources are significant in determining outcomes in terms of growth, poverty and inequality and how these are reproduced, modified and transformed in different ways across geographical space, which can be seen as the outcomes of topologies of power amongst social actors.

2.2.2 Space as places, networks and flows: territory and de-territorialisation

Despite the importance of concepts of territory and territoriality in geography, there have also been debates which have challenged their relevance to contemporary development processes, dominated by growing regional and global integration. While most contemporary human geographers may accept that geographical space is socially constructed, there are significant and recurring tensions and debates between conceptions of space as composed of recognisably discrete territorial units with their own identities, characteristic economic

activities, and political institutions (“spaces of places”), and the idea of space as constructed by networks of human social and economic interaction, or “spaces of flows” (Castells 1995), conceived as extended networks of transmission of goods, services, ideas, information and of cultural interaction which can transcend specific places and scales.

Associated with these theoretical tensions in geography, has been vigorous debate about globalisation and its impacts, which various writers contend involve the decreasing significance of territorial identity as a result of increased global and macro-regional flows of goods, services, information and ideas and movements of people. These supposedly homogenising processes have been referred to as *de-territorialisation* - the decreasing significance of distance, spatial difference and location, reflecting a “flat ontology” (Marston *et al.*, 2005) or indeed of place and space as a whole, leading to discussion of “the end of geography” (Graham 1998, Grieg 2002).

Nevertheless, geographers have continued to advocate the continuing significance of territory despite the diminishing importance of spatial boundaries and the growing importance of globalised networks in social and economic development (O’Tuathail 2000, Elden 2005, Haesbeart 2006), and draw on the concept of the social production of space (Lefebvre 1980, Harvey 1993, see also Santos 1996) to describe how territories can be re-constituted under changing global conditions. Two concepts introduced to this debate to illuminate the understanding of these processes are the idea of continual processes of “de- / re-territorialisation” (Deleuze & Guattari 2002), or the contingency of territory on relational processes that create, sustain and also dissolve them (Harvey 2009), and the interaction of multiple trajectories (of both people and places) in space-time (Massey 2005, 2004). Each of these concepts implies the need for a longer term historical perspective on the transformation of space by human agency as part and parcel of processes of social reproduction and development.

Massey (2005) argues that both place-based and flow-based perspectives on geographic space are useful in explaining spatial development processes. The two contrasting theorisations of space as comprising assemblages of places or alternatively as flows of goods, services and social relations through networks need not be mutually exclusive. Territory is important but not everything is always territorialised; the social construction of place does not necessarily “...create bounded territories, but constellations of connections with strands out beyond”

(Massey 2005 p. 187-188); individuals and social groups move in multiple trajectories over time and space, acting within networks at a variety of scales, and this can involve transformations in individual and collective senses of place and territorial identity.

Although globalisation in many ways diminishes the overriding significance of place in human society relative to that of broader networks (Castells 1995), the changing, expanding and intersecting boundaries of social, economic and political fields which globalisation entails (Bourdieu 2005) engender simultaneous processes of re-assertion of local and regional identities, and the emergence of new forms of territoriality, albeit at changing scales and sometimes extended across geographically discontinuous space (Elden 2005). Haesbeert (2006), following Deleuze and Guattari (2002), describes this process as “de / re-territorialisation”, noting that it is often accompanied by pressures and demands for greater local autonomy, specific policies to address the needs of migrants and minority groups, and the emergence of new institutional forms.

Brenner (2011), discussing the concept of uneven spatial development used in Marxist political economy, argues that contrary to predictions of the dominance of a single homogenising global scale (O’Brien 1990, Amin 2002), geographical differences have become more rather than less profound. In practice, socio-spatial evolution is “mediated by large-scale institutional forms and diverse social forces” (Brenner 2011, p.136) and involves four dimensions: place-making; bordering and parcelisation, through definition of territorial boundaries; scaling, or vertical differentiation of hierarchical relations amongst different spaces; and networking. Contemporary development processes involve the “re-articulation of scales”, modification of borders, and development of regional and international institutions with large-scale territorial jurisdiction, which did not exist during the period from the 18th Century to the 1970s, characterised by consolidation of nation states and entrenchment of the political dominance of the national scale. This “renewed turn to scale relativisation” (ibid. p.144, citing Agnew and Corbridge 1994) also involves the institutionalisation of urban and regional scales, and is accompanied by the emergence of new place-based struggles for territorial identity and rootedness. Similarly, Agnew (2010) argues that it is the view that territoriality pertains exclusively to the nation state that is challenged by contemporary globalisation, and that this assumption denies powers to other spatial configurations in place-making. Instead, conceptions of territoriality and sovereignty should be extended “to include so-called private actors and political organisations other than states [which are] not the only

territorial enterprises around” (Agnew 2010, p.782). Moreover not all states are equivalent in their territorial reach and ability to control their claimed territory (*ibid.*). The changing significance of the national scale is tightly bound up with the rise in importance of previously marginal global, regional and sub-national territorial scales, in which forms of authority and control other than those of the nation state gain significance. In addition, network geographies, “horizontal capillary like topological linkages which cross-cut, interpenetrate and overlap” (Brenner 2011, p145), although long present, are also being rearticulated with inherited patterns of place making, territory and scale, through spatially uneven and contested processes.

All in all, considering the conceptual approaches reviewed here, social and political geographic thinking on the changing recent and contemporary significance of territory and geographic scale has been remarkably convergent on both sides of the Atlantic and between Anglophone and Latin countries, including Brazil, albeit somewhat lacking in detailed discussion of empirical examples at sub-national scales. The relevance of questions of space and territoriality to the analysis of economic development, in both neoclassical and political economy traditions, is considered in the next section.

2.2.3 Economic geography and geographical economics

Different bodies of literature in economic geography are relevant to analysis of the development and spatial organisation of production systems and markets and have been influential on the theory and practice of regional and local economic development. One is the application from the early 1990’s of mainstream economics by the so-called “New economic geography” or NEG, originating in the work of Paul Krugman (1991, 1995) to provide abstract, quantitative models that explain the industrial prosperity of certain regions rather than others. Literature rooted in the Marxist political economy tradition provides entirely different but also largely theoretical analyses of the spatial divisions of labour in capitalist society (Raffestin 1993 [1980], in France; Massey 1995 [1984], in UK; Santos 2002, in Brazil), and the geographies of uneven spatial development (Brenner 2011). Earlier and continuing work, sometimes labelled, in contrast to NEG, as “proper economic geography” (Martin 2011) draws on both these approaches and on other branches of social theory and economics to provide more discursive, empirically grounded, multifactorial place-centred and case-study-based explanations of the development of specific clusters and regions.

NEG focuses not on the social and historical origins of spatial economic organization and its social and political consequences, but on the role of locational economic factors in successful performance of industrial districts. Whereas early explanations focused on the relative economic advantages of certain places in terms of availability and costs of labour and land, and the importance of the existence of a skills reserve, Krugman (1995) developed an approach that incorporated transport costs, economies of scale, and flows of knowledge and information amongst networks of firms operating in different industrial sectors into quantitative mathematical models which can be used to explain the emergence of geographical clusters of firms and the cumulative effects over time on the prosperity of industrial districts. NEG models examine the spatial distribution of economic activity from the firm's point of view including the role of backward and forward linkages with suppliers and users of goods and services in the processes of market development and spatial agglomeration. In NEG, the key factors promoting spatial agglomeration are increasing returns to scale, market structures characterised by imperfect competition, transport costs and the mobility of labour, capital and consumers, the latter two factors being the principle reasons why locations matters (Martin 2011, citing Fujita & Mori, 2005). Following Krugman's own pioneering work, dynamic equilibrium models have been used to address an expanding range of topics, focussing variously on factor migration, vertical input-output linkages between sectors, *in situ* construction and depreciation of capital, and regional spillovers (Martin 2011, p.58).

Principal criticisms of the NEG approach concern the artificiality of the assumptions made in modelling, and the emphasis on "hard" predictive factors related to physical location, distance and cost, to the neglect of a multiplicity of "soft" social, cultural and institutional factors. However NEG models do represent observed features of economic agglomeration and dispersion in industrial development, even if they cannot capture the full complexity of the economic landscape. They are based on variations of a relatively simple two sector agricultural – industrial economic model in which rural areas service industrial growth by producing food and providing a mobile labour force, and space is gradually transformed by the locational logic of regional industrial competition. Martin (*ibid.*) concludes that the principle maladies of the NEG approach are the lack of interpretive context to appraise the utility of the models in any particular case, and a tendency to ignore the history of location - region specific economic development, and the path dependence of technology, knowledge, infrastructure and institutions (*ibid.* p.65)

Schejtman and Berdegué (2008), reviewing a wide range of different studies of industrial clusters in Latin America and elsewhere, found that most industrial clusters had limited impact on the broader development of smaller and medium-scale enterprises, except in cases where the clusters comprised smaller firms producing relatively low quality goods for local markets. In contrast, the accounts by Bagnasco (1977) of industrial development in parts of central Italy have attracted considerable interest by highlighting the concrete linkages between successful new industrial districts with rural hinterlands with viable small farm economies. Whereas the growth of intermediate cities has been a driving factor, these have benefited from the availability of a flexible labour force of part-time farmers with relatively low labour costs, circumstances which have also encouraged household investment in the rural economy. Schejtman and Berdegué (2008) also cite as relevant to the growth of rural economies work in economic geography that discusses development of a knowledge economy across supply and value chains and the idea of a culture economy (Ray 1998).

Geographers adopting political economy perspectives have treated economic development as part of the social construction and territorial organization of space, examining the socio-spatial effects of economic development, and the formation and transformations of human territory. According to Raffestin (1993), the emergence and organisation of a territorial system is a product of a mode of production which permits hierarchical control of the ownership, distribution and allocation of resources within the territory, in which the state, in different guises, is a key actor. The territorial system is composed of different forms and scales of spatial organisation overlaid with one another, and as a result rarely if ever corresponds with discretely defined economic regions. As a result territorial boundaries are rarely fixed: economic activities may be based in particular territories but do not end abruptly at their limits, but instead are differentiated gradually and progressively across space, while also seeking to extend into new areas.

Similarly, Santos (1996, 2002) considers the spatial economic organization of capitalist production, to have a structuring role in development taking place at multiple scales, and now increasingly globalized, within which spatial division of labour and specialisation are principal drivers of social life and its territorial differentiation. Multiple economic forces bearing on different locations shape their characteristics and identities as particular places and regions, leading to the development of spatial inequalities across regions, within urban centres and between rural and urban areas. The unfolding variable densities of economic

activity, result for instance in huge geographical variations in access to financial services and to electronic information across Brazil's national territory (Santos 2002, p. 129-133). The resulting hierarchical organisation of space reflects and expresses social and economic power relations between both between and within urban and rural areas, defining and limiting the scope for action by individuals, groups and organisations. State and market play the key roles in these processes through the action of multiple firms and instances of governmental power at multiple scales, seeking to structure territorial organisation according to their interests and prerogatives (*ibid.* p.135) through the imposition of policies and institutional arrangements.

Santos introduces a historical perspective incorporating successive spatial divisions of labour within the same place or region. "In each place, in each sub-region, new divisions of labour arrive and become implanted, without excluding the outcomes of earlier divisions of labour" (*ibid.*, p.136). Different places exhibit features of multiple modes of production that can originate in markets organised at different scales, which have their own rhythms of development or periodicity. Established territorial divisions of labour, and the urban nuclei and infrastructure developed, alongside the natural environment and its geographic features, have a structuring effect on territorial development. Santos (2001) describes the impacts of inherited forms of socio-spatial economic organization as "furrows" or "wrinkles" (*rugosidades*) or the "dynamic inertia" of space, a concept similar to that of "path dependence" in economic development (North 1990). At any point in history, social practice involves a redistribution of factors of production, "and this redistribution is not indifferent to pre-existing conditions, that is inherited forms originating in previous moments ...the 'furrows' bring the results and remains of previous divisions of labour, the capital used, and the technical and social organization of labour processes....The social division of labour cannot be explained without reference to the territorial division of labour, which depends on inherited geographical forms" (Santos 2001 p.40-41).

Since the structural adjustment era, the predominant industrial, urban emphasis of economic geography has been influential in the policy and practice of regional economic development planning, focussing increasingly on city-regions in which rural areas are treated primarily as service areas dependent on continuing urban growth (Rodriguez-Pose 2008). Regional planning tends to portray a landscape of "leading" and "lagging" or uncompetitive regions (OECD 2006), the former characterised by spontaneous, market-led agglomeration of

activities in regions concentrated in leading regions or industrial districts, naturally bestowed with natural or acquired comparative advantage resulting from locational advantage, low transport costs, infrastructural development and co-location of firms and proximity to input, output and labour markets. Porto (2003) a regional economic planner with the Bahia state government identifies a framework he describes as the “chassis” of Bahia’s regional economic geography, comprising an interconnected network of development poles centred on medium to large-scale cities, linking the urbanised region around Salvador with a set of relatively discrete large urban centres and agro-industrial rural development poles. Each of these is characterised by a sustainable agglomeration of networked economic activities and functional institutions for local government. This framework is the deliberate result of top-down planning and creates advantages for the regions connected with it, but neglects the majority of rural areas.

NEG approaches have been applied in a prescriptive way at macro-regional and global scales by the World Bank (2009), without identifying and applying insights and knowledge from other perspectives and traditions of analysis of spatial development. Geographers have criticised the World Bank’s applications of NEG for neglecting the social embeddedness of spatial economic relations, and the historical co-constitution of geography and political economy over time, treating space treated as a neutral canvas on which economic development unfolds as a basis for policy prescriptions (Rigg *et al.* 2009; Peck and Shephard 2010, *Economic Geography* 2010). Critics argue for greater attention to development history in order to assess how the development of different regions and their particular comparative advantages and disadvantages have been constructed socially, including by the actions of the state and of private investors, and the social and spatial power relations involved.

Local economic development (LED) approaches are policy approaches that aim to stimulate development of “lagging” localities and wider regions by attracting and stimulating investments in small and medium-scale enterprises to generate employment and address perceived failures vis-a-vis more competitive, successful regions that attract greater investment. The World Bank (2003, p.3) has defined LED as “...the process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. The aim is to improve the quality of life for all...” within a specific town, metropolitan area or region, by strengthening

its competitiveness. Whereas earlier analysis of LED focused on how to stimulate inward investment in industrial infrastructure and expand the growth of local firms, more recent LED thinking adopts more holistic strategies to improve the quality of the business environment, including the presence and role of advisory, financial and other services that stimulate growth, networking and collaboration between interdependent clusters and localities, development of collaborative business relationships, workforce development, soft infrastructure provision, and quality of life improvements to attract and retain skilled labour (World Bank 2003).

The applied LED literature combines empirical description of how development of economic and industrial clusters proceeds with normative guidance on how it should be approached and technical methodological tools to assist local government and economic policy makers put in place the different elements considered to be essential for success (see for example Albuquerque 2001, World Bank 2003, GTZ 2004). To some extent they have also been informed by the experiences of rural regions in Europe and applied to rural contexts elsewhere, for instance Albuquerque's (2001) manual on local economic development policy, influential in Latin America. Development of more integrated rural-urban local economic development perspectives through better understanding of rural growth processes and their effects on social inclusion and environmental sustainability formed part of the rationale for rural territorial dynamics research (RIMISP 2008, Schejtman and Berdegúe 2008).

Criticisms of LED include its general lack of emphasis on rural economies, neglect of distributional dimensions and environmental effects of investment, and implicit assumptions of universal applicability of approaches developed in an urban industrial context (Davis 2005, Davis and Rylance 2005). Abramovay (2006) criticises LED's lack of analysis of the drivers of development in different geographic contexts and its overwhelmingly normative character as expounded by Albuquerque (2001) and others, reliant on simple comparisons between factors present in successful and unsuccessful areas to generate detailed policy recommendations and guidelines, yet lacking in explanatory accounts of why economic development takes place as it does.

Haesbeart (2006) argues that the existence of physical, economic and social networks across space are constitutive of territory, and that the extension of regional and global markets, can lead to the establishment of new networks and new identities, and thus needs to be

accompanied by extension of citizen participation and democratic political change. He identifies geographical *aglomerados de exclusao*, or “clusters of exclusion” characterised by concentrations of socially and economically excluded groups effectively deprived of citizen rights, and “de-territorialised” through being unable to identify with a functional economic region, virtually untouched by state services, without forms of civic organisation, access to credit or development support, and with highly limited access to markets. Large parts of the Northeast Brazilian interior exemplified these conditions during much of the 20th Century, falling into the interstices of regional economic networks and populated by subsistence-oriented peasant farmers, rural workers dependent on- large-scale landowners, descendants of former slaves, poor European migrants and remnants of indigenous groups. In the different context of KwaZulu-Natal in post –apartheid South Africa, Hart (2002) found that network links between urban migrants and rural areas were critical in enabling their economic participation constructing new sense of territorial identity following political change, and argued that an understanding of urban – rural economic and livelihood linkages is needed for the planning of industrial investment in urban areas.

The process of territorialisation, or the formation of collective, geographically referenced social identities, involves progress of social and economic inclusion and depends essentially on establishment of connections with and participation in civic and market networks which broadens the geographic basis of citizenship. This process of territorialisation can also be looked at as the development of social capital embedded in space and in spatial relations.

2.3 Social practice and institutional change

2.3.1 Bourdieu’s theory of practice: fields and habitus

Given that territory can be understood with reference to both its “hard” objective and “soft” subjective dimensions, it is necessary to grasp structural, objective and actor-centred, subjective dimensions of social and economic change. For this purpose, the most convincing, comprehensive and useful set of conceptual approaches and tools to orient the research are those associated with the “Theory of Practice” developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu offers an integrated social theory which integrates and combines insights and perspectives from both structuralist and actor centred traditions in sociology to explain social action (Schwarz 1997). This orients development of Bourdieu’s version of a political – economy approach in

which different actors draw on a variety of forms of capital in the exercise of power relations to advance their positions in the various *fields* of social, economic, cultural and political life.

The relevant concepts in Bourdieu's theory include that of *Habitus*, used to denote the pre-existing sets of dispositions, habits, assumptions and ideas which determine actors' individual courses of action, choices of options and strategies within different *fields or contexts*, and the forms of *capital* on which they draw within the social field and how actors' cumulative strategies and actions contribute to the reproduction (and potentially the transformation) of social structures (Bourdieu 1977, 1990 [1987], 1991). *Habitus* can be seen as a function of both position and origin within broader social structures of class, gender and ethnicity but also to result from individual traits, biographies and learning (Bebbington 2007), combining structuralist and subjectivist perspectives on social action. Bourdieu sees *Habitus* as a system of acquired dispositions functioning practically as categories of perception and assessment, or as classificatory principles that organise social action and establish the actor or agent as having an active role in constructing the world (Bourdieu 1990 [1987]).

A second major element of Bourdieu's social theory is the concept of *fields* within which actors or agents operate. These different fields or spheres of social life, including the economy and politics, but also religion, the arts, sciences, and education, are conceived as specific social, economic, political and cultural / symbolic arenas within which actors compete for dominance and control through strategies to realise their interests by accumulation, maintenance and deployment of a range of tangible and intangible assets, including economic, cultural, social and political capital (Bourdieu 2001[1986]). The idea of a field is a spatial metaphor, a structured space organised around specific types and combinations of capital, the assets on which actors are able to draw on, according to their positions. It can be regarded as "a network or configuration of objective relations between positions..." defined by the situation of agents or institutions and their relations to others according to the distribution of various "species of power or capital, whose possession commands access to specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, cited in Bebbington 2007).

Despite their diversity, Bourdieu sees fields as having some invariant properties, characterised by unequal yet dynamic structures of power relations, based on the distribution of different forms of capital, which tend to reproduce themselves over time, and always

requiring some combination of economic and cultural capital in order to function. Fields are also “the sites of struggles of interests between different agents and institutions” (Bourdieu 1990 [1987] p.111) and thus subject to change under certain conditions.

Bourdieu identifies the principal stratifying force in his analysis of contemporary societies as the “field of power”, or in earlier (1983 / 1984) “all-encompassing Social Space” or the “Field of Social Classes”, including elements of both economic and cultural capital and a variety of subsidiary fields including the academic, religious, scientific and political, in addition to a variety of intersecting economic fields (Swartz 1989 p.139). However he rejects the or reductionism – in Bourdieu’s conception, as distinct from the economic determinism that characterises much of Marxist thinking, classes and power relations involve distributions of multiple forms of capital not reducible to economic relations, and which need to be characterised empirically in analysing different contexts and situations. Bourdieu refers to the distinctive social groups and social structures of fields or “what are normally called classes” as generated by “patterns of perception, thought and action which are constitutive of the *habitus* and of social structures” themselves (Bourdieu 1990 [1987] p.123).

Despite their links to the broader field of power or social class, cultural, scientific, religious and other fields, such as the education system or the church are structured according to their own internal development mechanisms, and thus have “relative autonomy”⁷, and the interests of agents within different fields cannot be reduced to economic interests (Bourdieu 1990 [1987] p.111).

Despite the pervasive influence of Bourdieu’s approach and concepts in contemporary sociology, some commentators have criticised Bourdieu’s concentration on the reproduction of social inequality as a result of the maintenance of power structures and a relative lack of emphasis on the conditions under which progressive social and institutional change can occur (Swartz 1997). Bourdieu does explain why some groups but not others are able to form successful alliances and bring about change, perhaps involving changes to individualised *habitus*, by challenging successfully dominant orthodoxies, and escape the constraints imposed by the structures of fields. As a result, further empirical analysis and development of

⁷ Relative autonomy is a concept developed and used in the Marxist-structuralist thinking of Althusser to describe how politics or ideology is not necessarily entirely shaped by or rooted in economic thinking, but subject to its own dynamics.

conceptual tools are needed to understand connections and reciprocal relationships between groups in order to develop “a politics of collective mobilisation” (Swartz 1997 p.136).

Social geographers have contended that territories can be considered as fields of interacting and conflicting forces (Rafestin 1993, Santos 1996, 2002). Similarly, Abramovay & Favareto (2008), suggest that Bourdieu’s theory of fields could be applied to address changing structures of power relations within specific territories. Bourdieu himself discussed the emergence of the idea of a region as a territorial political field (Bourdieu 1991a) and applied his analysis to administrative control by local government actors within specific territorialised fields of *departements* and *communes* in France (Bourdieu 1991b). As these are geographical units of regional and local government, they are institutions developed historically for administrative control which correspond with geographically bounded political fields. Moreover the boundaries of fields are subject to change, for instance as technology, communications and trade policies develop to opening up markets to new competition (Bourdieu 1991a.). Popular perceptions, language and political organisation can also generate ideas of specific regions that become embedded in broader social and policy discourse, such as the idea of the French region of *l’Occitaine*, even though it does not correspond to a politically recognised region. For a field to correspond with a territory some form of shared symbolic recognition of boundedness, for instance on maps, in language, or through distinctive sets of activities and culture is required, if not formal recognition of these boundaries in law and political institutions.

As discussed in Section 2.2, territoriality can be socially constructed and not only politically defined, and space is subject to multiple and overlapping territorial constructions by different agents, groups, organisations and economic networks, at multiple overlapping or superimposed scales (Rafestin 1993, Santos 2002, Haesbaert 2006). This interplay of interests and power relations also shapes the boundaries of the spatial domains within which it takes place and can lead to the institution of territorial forms of political authority (Sack 1986, Hirst 2002, Brenner 2011) which are important in social and economic development. The degree to which political units correspond with socially constructed territories and the socio-spatial economic organisation specific regions is central in understanding territorial dynamics, and political institutions must increasingly mediate the impact of external forces and influences on rural areas, including increasing flows of goods, services and people (Lowe *et al.* 1995, Ray 1998).

In the absence of political organisations that correspond geographically with a specific area, the distinction between factors considered endogenous and exogenous, the contours that define territorial boundaries, and even the scale at which a territory exists can all be questioned. It is thus too simplistic to treat any given geographic space as a discretely bounded territorial field, simply because some actors recognise or identify with it territorially if there is no corresponding political arena for decision making, within which actors can contest or collaborate to manage the area's development. In other words the territorial configurations of governance form part of the "rules of the game" of development.

The following sections consider other concepts in social, political science and economics relevant to a causal understanding rural territorial development processes. These include the concept of social capital, prominent in Bourdieu's work (discussed in Section 2.3.2) and concepts of institutions and institutional change (section 2.3.3) social movements, social coalitions (Section 2.3.4) and public policy (Section 2.3.5).

2.3.2 Social capital

Bourdieu's concept of social capital describes the relationships and contacts that can be mobilized by individuals and groups to confer advantage in struggles for advancement (Bourdieu 2001 [1983]). Social capital refers to the set of resources that are embodied in relationships of friendship, acquaintance, kinship, solidarity and participation in groups and networks that can provide people with support, backing, advice or assistance from other individuals or by the groups of which they are members – or to paraphrase Bebbington (2007 p. 156), the composite of a social network and the resources controlled within it. To take examples pertinent to my research, social relations of kinship, friendship and solidarity can be used to secure access to the land and labour resources to expand farm production, improve access to markets, and influence local politics to provide training and technical support.

A somewhat different but not wholly alien concept of social capital is central to Putnam's (1990) analysis of regional development in Italy, denoting more abstract qualities pertaining to particular social groups, societies or regions, characterized by high levels of development of civil society and membership of civic organisations. Certain Italian regions display higher levels of social capital than others, being characterised historically by widespread presence of civic networks and associations, and the existence of opportunities and norms for interaction

amongst them appears to have promoted both effective governance and economic prosperity. “Social capital’ refers to features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam 1993 p.1). It is a public good “underprovided by private agents....often a by-product of other social activities [that]...typically consists in ties, norms and trust transferable from one social setting to another” (*ibid.* p.2). For Putnam, social capital is both a cause of good governance and economic development, and a result of historical legacies (Fox 1996).

This concept of social capital has been widely applied in development policy, most prominently by the World Bank in interventions that support social organisation and collective action (Woolcock and Radin 2007), for example in establishing and strengthening producer associations, marketing cooperatives, village development councils, women’s community action groups, water and natural resource users groups, and credit and savings associations. The prominence the concept has assumed in development practice thinking has been widely criticized, however (see Bebbington 2004 for an overview). Critics have used statistical models to show that economic growth is not strongly associated with indicators of levels of social capital, such as frequency of civic organization. Others argue that the emphasis on social capital is treated as a panacea, detached from consideration of power relations and neglecting the role of the state (Fine 2001, Harriss 2002), or that in poor countries the social and economic conditions for development of social capital in civil society may not be present and that investments in state service delivery may also be required (Woolcock and Radin 2007).⁸

Nevertheless it is reasonable to expect that social capital can play a role in making economic growth more socially inclusive, and it is therefore a relevant factor to be developed provided it is recognized that building group organisation, mutual aid and network connections amongst poor groups can be of value in overcoming poverty and social exclusion, without necessarily substituting for more redistributive policies. Farmers and rural workers organizations can be effective advocates for policy change and provide a means of collective empowerment for the poor and marginalised, as they have done actively in Brazil over the last three decades. However as the available “stock” of social capital in Putnam’s sense, is also a product of

⁸ These criticisms are not surprising considering that the spread in influence of Putnam’s concept in the 1990s, and the growing popularity of investment in civil society and forms of social organisation to assist the poor in negotiating markets both coincided with the structural adjustment era of global disinvestment in the public sector and general rolling back of the state.

historical processes, specific types of intervention may be required to effect change by enabling the poor to access accumulate and utilize social capital. Moreover, once they do, broader changes may be required to bring about more inclusive economic development.

Despite ideological divergence and polemic surrounding the idea of social capital, its conception as derived from Putnam as an abstract, and generally positive property of certain groups and societies is not fundamentally incompatible with that of Bourdieu: in addition to social ties providing resources useful to individuals and groups, social capital can be seen as an emergent property of groups and networks themselves, resulting from their successful development through shared interests and multiple networked relationships of friendship, trust and reciprocity. In this sense social capital can be seen as potentially located geographically in specific places, towns, or regions. Drawing on both Bourdieu (2001 [1983]) and Putnam (Putnam *et al.* 1993), the concept of social capital can denote assets grounded in social relations which can be accumulated and deployed by both individuals and groups, which can become inherent in groups, networks and broader societies and be actively fostered as a public good, accessible to all members, while also subject to changing and variable levels and forms of development. In the absence of good access to other capital assets, such as finance, land, technical skills and knowledge, building social capital by strengthening social organisation may often be a good place to start. In this way, social capital can provide stepping stones for the poor and disadvantaged to gain access to other resources to help overcome poverty and compete within fields of struggle characterised by unequal power relations, or markets in which skills, knowledge and information are asymmetrically distributed, or in lay terms, not “level playing fields”.

It should be remembered, however, that social capital is not a concept relevant only to the empowerment of the poor. As discussed by Bourdieu (2001 [1983]), it is a resource exploited by individuals and groups of all kinds to enhance their economic and political power, and a means for the reproduction of unequal social power relations. The social capital inherent in cohesive groups and strong networks can entail exclusion of outsiders (Bebbington 2007) and may be associated with forms of symbolic and cultural capital, such as specialist discourse and forms of ritual that serve to reinforce the dominance of member of elite groups.

Social capital is clearly a useful concept in understanding development processes and specifically the social relationships developed within and between social groups, networks

and organisations that may be central in determining progressive development outcomes. The social construction of territoriality by the rural poor leading to greater social inclusion and the emergence of collective organisation and consciousness involving the construction of new forms of social identity (Castells 2003, Souza Martins 2003⁹, Haesbaert 2006), involves the progressive construction of social and cultural capital that has led in turn to better distribution of access to land, natural resources, infrastructure, credit, financial services, and the growth of human capital through education.

Despite the plausibility of Putnam's (1990) account of the contrasting experiences of different regions in Italy in terms of prosperity and governance linked to higher densities of social capital, the concept of social capital does not itself account for the practical causal mechanisms whereby these broader benefits arise in particular regions rather than others. As a result it is necessary to enquire more closely into the types of social relationships involved in successful cases and how these can be utilised by actors to improve access to other assets and create social and economic benefit.

The literature on social capital draws distinctions drawn between *bonding* and *bridging* forms of social capital (Portes and Sensenbrenner 2001), referring to relationships of intra group solidarity internal to specific groups (such as kinship groups, village communities or producer associations) and horizontal relationships linking different groups across spatial and socio-economic distance. A further category introduced is that of *linking* social capital referring to the social resources gained by forming vertical relationships amongst actors operating at local, regional, national or global scales (Woolcock 1998, Woolcock and Narayan 2006). While these links might involve relations of patronage between more powerful external actors and weaker social groups in rural areas, they might also involve enlargement of the capacities of local actors as a result of networks and forms of organisation that include higher level actors who share in local aspirations. Ideas of bonding, bridging and linking social capital are useful in that they extend the idea of social capital as an asset on which whole social groups can draw not simply to advance livelihoods but also to bring about

⁹ Souza Martins (2003) in *O Sujeito Oculto* (the hidden subject) discusses land reform and the emergence of individual and collective subjective identity amongst poor and landless farmers in rural Brazil. Although the author's concern is to understand the links between structural change and the emergence of conscious agency, and also to celebrate this process, the analysis also shows how the establishment of identity with and control over rural places and spaces going beyond achievement of property rights, towards the construction of shared local development visions, which can be interpreted as a process of transformation of *habitus* as a result of participation in landless workers movements and a greater sense of social inclusion, including a sense of territorial identity.

broader changes which are in their interests. Bridging and linking social capital are particularly pertinent to territorial development, in uniting disparate groups across geographical regions, and in enabling territorial actors to access allies and resources not available to them locally.

The strength of bonding social capital within specific groups also has a bearing on how effectively their interests are represented by group leaders and delegates in territorial planning forums, because it derives from effective social organisation on the ground enabling people to exert influence over their leaders and representatives in their dealings with other actors. However bridging social capital is fundamental for organisations operating at a territorial scale, which involve actors from different locations and often with different trajectories and class backgrounds, for instance different groupings of rural workers, small family farmers and producer associations, NGOs, environmentalists, and local politicians, officials, and intellectuals, for whom establishment of strong bridging ties and may need to be mediated by enforceable relations of trust established by formal rules and understandings. However weaker ties (Granovetter 1973), established by negotiation and occasional practical collaboration with actors with distinct ideological orientations such as private business may also enhance the resources and opportunities open to poorer class or identity-based groups (Abramovay *et al.* 2007). These weaker ties can be especially important in developing vertical linking relationships with external actors operating such as politicians, development banks, and university researchers, through participation of local actors in policy networks and advocacy coalitions at regional or national levels, and are significant in formation of coalitions of actors that can have decisive influences over development processes and outcomes.

Action by the state can also assist in the development of social capital are also potentially complementary in overcoming inequality. Fox (1996) found that in parts of rural Mexico high levels of social capital and organizing ability amongst indigenous organisations had been co-produced by local actors and the state, and that even when social capital is produced from below, links with external allies were still crucial. Bebbington (2008, p. 273) with reference to the idea of the ‘developmental state’ - and its virtual absence in the case discussed of the mining sector in Peru - argues that “the joint presence of social capital within civil society and the social capital linking state and society” is possible, as state agents participate directly in developmental social networks alongside members of social and community organizations,

and suggests that state and social organizations have to be understood as co-produced by one another (*ibid.*, p. 274). Tandler (1997) in a study of successful government innovation in preventive health, enterprise development, employment creation and rural extension in the Northeast Brazilian state of Ceará in the early 1990s, illustrates the central role played by government officials working directly with the urban and rural poor, or “street level bureaucrats” (Lipsky 1980, Hupe and Hill 2007), sometimes recruited from amongst them. Here, intensive personal interactions and relations of trust between citizens and state representatives were a critical factor in effective delivery of state services and achievement of welfare and income gains¹⁰.

Improving access to social capital through collective organisation can help the otherwise disadvantaged to operate more effectively within existing institutional arrangements, or in other words, to be more successful under the existing rules of the game. The idea in Putnam (1993) that “stocks” of social capital as inherited products of historical development can explain inclusive economic performance may not be sufficient, and specific investments in developing appropriate forms of social capital may be required are likely to be important for social capital to “thicken” (Fox 1996). For excluded and marginalised social groups institutional changes may be needed requiring good vertical linkages to provide access to financial resources, skills, political influence and lobbying power so as to influence policy, revise laws, regulations or change established practices. This in turn is likely to require a broader scale of organisation, in which multiple producers or community associations are able to work together and establish strong collaboration bridging and linking relations with other actors – involving and lobbying and influencing decision-makers in order to bring about change.

Social capital, despite its utility and currency as a concept in development debates, does not provide the whole story of how progressive alliances of social groups that are capable of effecting change emerge and develop to have real impact. It is therefore necessary to consider a number of other concepts and branches of literature for their potential utility in understanding change processes in the research area.

¹⁰ Almost two decades after the experiences discussed by Tandler, very similar processes now occur throughout the Brazilian Northeast, where a marked interpenetration of state and civil society organizations and personal networks has emerged, largely as a result of progressive Federal policies and the historical intersection of growth of social and trade union movements and the rise to power of the Workers Party.

2.3.3 Institutions and institutional change

Institutions can be considered as sets of regularised practices with a rule like quality through which social interaction is organised and structured in particular ways (Hall 2010, see also North 1990, and Knight 1992). In his work on institutional change and economic performance North (1990), defines institutions as “the rules of the game” in society, or humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction”. “The game” in question is that of economic exchange, and the “New Institutional Economics” (NIE) adopted a rational-choice perspective on the institutions which structure the incentives that govern and underlie economic exchange to address economists’ concerns to understand institutional constraints on efficiency and to minimise transaction costs and by adjusting the shared social rules and understandings, laws or state regulations that affect economic behaviour.

Knight (1992) extends North’s original definition stating that for a set of rules to constitute an institution “knowledge of these rules must be shared by members of the relevant community or society” (*ibid.* p.2-3): to the extent that people are not aware of or do not accept or subscribe to legal rules and social conventions, they lack social or political legitimacy. Importantly, institutions are considered to include both formal and informal rules and – where the latter are social rules and norms of practice widely recognized and accepted but that remain unwritten, not codified in law, and not explicitly promulgated.

Institutional analysts distinguish institutions from organisations: whereas institutions are sets of rules that structure interactions amongst actors, organisations are collective actors that might themselves be subject to institutional constraints. However organisations may have internal institutional structures of formal and informal rules and conventions governing the interactions and behaviour of their members and constituent parts. As a result various types of collective entities can be at once organisations and institutions, such as firms, government departments, churches and universities (Knight 1992, p3). Certain organisational forms and specific organisations can be institutionalised as long term features of social, economic and cultural fields enshrined in nations’ laws, constitutions and long-established conventions which result from interaction and struggle between different social groups and organisations, eventual agreement or consensus amongst them.

According to North (1990, 2006), institutions influence and structure the way society evolves, tending to bring about circumstances of “path dependency” a concept used to explain the widely observed persistence of particular forms of economic organization, specialisation and societal behaviour as a result of prior historical choices that constrain future development pathways, and the possibilities and limits of change. For NIE institutional change arises from the need for collective action by state or society to reduce and mitigate transactions costs that constrain efficiencies and desirable outcomes in market development. Such changes are generally considered in NIE to involve critical junctures which rupture the equilibrium of existing institutions to put a country on to a different path, as a result of external factors such as war, colonisation, abrupt shifts in the global economy, or alternatively due to internal processes such as political revolution, industrialization or the rise of a new middle class. Robinson (2010) argues that economic institutions tend to persist under both democratic and authoritarian forms of rule precisely because they organise production in the interests of elites that form around them, and form a key part of the mechanisms by which these elites persist and reproduce over time. Institutional change thus requires political changes which either break the power of elites or cause their interests to change; in other cases however economic institutions can be maintained because they also serve the interests of incumbent elites (Robinson 2010).

Thus although new ways of organising or regulating economic transactions for social benefit can be devised, established rules and behavioural norms make innovation difficult, and change is usually a slow and difficult process. For change to occur those with new ideas need to have political influence (Hare and Davis 2006). Williamson (2000), however differentiates amongst institutions according to their levels of social and historical embeddedness. Whereas informal institutions embedded in cultural and religious traditions can be very slow to change, over timescales of hundreds or to a thousand years, formal institutions such as property rights, forms of government and constitution, the judiciary and bureaucracy although self – reproducing, are frequently subject to change over periods of decades. Specific legislation, social and economic regulation, and the governance structures of firms and social organisations which determine incentives and constraints on behaviour can be even more tractable, involving processes of continuous or regular change (Williamson 2000). The level of political influence and disruption to established systems in adjusting institutions to reduce the transaction costs and improve economic management may thus be significantly less than some writers consider.

One reason for the tendency in institutional economists to emphasise the difficulties of institutional change is that some of the most prominent NIE analysts have tended to focus on the role of historically embedded institutions in national economic development pathways (Acemoglu and Robinson 2005, Rodrik 2003). Not only do “institutions matter” (North 1990) in determining development pathways, and the parameters within which change and variation can occur, but they may be more important than natural resource and geographic factors that other writers (Sachs 2003) find important. Rodrik *et al.*, (2004) claim that “institutions rule” asserting their primacy in determining income levels around the world, based on a statistical model and controlling for other factors such as geography and trade, using selected composite indicators for these and for institutions, using available national data for a set of economies. From this perspective, success in capitalist development that produces growth while avoiding conflict by accommodating dissent and enfranchising weaker groups is explained by the quality of national institutions of parliamentary democracy, private property and market freedoms in western democratic nations (North *et al.* 2009). Other economic analysts have argued, however, that the fundamental requirement for economic growth is capital accumulation, and that it is primarily human capital, rather than democratic institutions *per se* that promotes growth, citing cases of economic development led by authoritarian regimes which have only later introduced democratic reforms to political institutions (Glaeser *et al.* 2004).

Relatively little attention has been paid, however, to the role and functioning of institutions at local level, at which change and development may be both necessary and achievable in resolving more specific, localised problems, even though stable, higher level policies and institutions may already be in place at the national level. A notable exception is the work of Ostrom (2005) which draws on game theory to de-mythologise Hardin’s classic tragedy of the commons thesis and explain why institutions are necessary for the management of common pool resources, also analysing the micro-level functioning of systems of property rights, and the development of community-based natural resource management and producer associations in the agricultural sector.

The turn in economics to focus on institutions as social constructs involves acceptance that economic exchange is grounded or *embedded* in social interaction, as economic sociologists have long argued (Polanyi 1957, Granovetter 1985, Bourdieu 1991, Granovetter and Swedberg 2001). Individual or collective economic agents can make choices based not only

on rational calculations of self-interest, but according to subjective perception, ideology, or constraints imposed by the institutions themselves (North 1990, Chapter 3). From this point of view, institutions can be viewed as the rules or socially constructed constraints and collective agencies that both structure and operate within the ‘game’ of interaction in social and economic fields, within which individuals and organizations are the players, and their actions and choices result from the ‘feel for the game’ or *habitus*.

Although Bourdieu’s theoretical work did not address explicitly the idea of institutions, his theory of fields offers a version of institutional analysis (Swartz 1997), in which fields are broader arenas that incorporate institutions, characterised by struggles amongst agents within them to define the institutions or rules of interaction that govern their operation (Bourdieu 1990 [1987], Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Fields can span various institutions, involving sets of formal and informal rules, and agencies, firms, and organisations that can have their own internal rules and institutional structures, that provide forms of authority and collective agency expressing the power and interests of groups and alliances of actors able to influence decision making and resource allocation. This perspective blurs rigorous distinction between institutions and organisations considered as bodies that “aggregate and articulate interests, [and provide]...the critical political links between citizens and decisions making organs of the state” (Leftwich and Sen (2010 p.9).

Bourdieu (1990 [1987], see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) distinguishes rules from regularities in observed behaviour which he conceives as the net aggregate results of social practice - general social principles and collective regularities that result from *habitus*, rather than obedience to unwritten rules. A ‘rule’ however can be defined as “a quasi-judicial principle imposed on all those who join a game”, that can be “constituted as a formal system with intentional and deliberate coherence” through processes of codification or formalization which can be either oral or written (Bourdieu 1990 [1987] p.69). Thus production of regular practices involves both the *habitus* as well as expressly formulated rules.

Formal rules can be made known, transmitted and passed on within groups or between generations through oral tradition, and social rules are not at all restricted to bodies of formal written law. For Bourdieu, formalisation is a process of symbolic encoding which can use either written or spoken language or various forms of ritual practice. Codification can dispense with the need for customary authority figures to interpret ethical principle, and

adjudicate interaction human interaction, also helping to protect against the arbitrary or biased exercise of customary powers. However the codification process requires access to skills (for example those of the scribe, the priest or the lawyer) and thereby involves power relations, and can ascribe further power and influence to those charged with the job of encoding, and those whose interests they may represent. While codification brings regularity and predictability to the functioning of fields of social interaction (ibid p.78) it can also inscribe – or institutionalise - within them hierarchies and inequalities in power relations¹¹.

Bourdieu's theory of practice has been applied in economic sociology alongside elements of institutional economics to explain changes in the development and domination of industrial firms and the evolution of economic regulation and market institutions. Fligstein (2002) identifies four types of social rules relevant to the functioning of markets: property rights; governance structures (laws and informal institutions which define relations of competition, cooperation and how firms themselves should be organised); rules of exchange; and what Fligstein calls "conceptions of control" – the cognitive understandings that structure perceptions of how a particular market works (equivalent to Bourdieu's "doxa", or 'deep structure' of fields based on actors' shared but tacit or unconscious understanding of a field's fundamental principles of operation). These rules constitute the regulatory institutions and practices governing different industrial sectors that normally reflect the interests of dominant actors, actively constructed as instruments of their hegemony (Fligstein 2002). Changes in market structure and regulation can occur, usually as a result of the entry to the market of successful new firms which changes the terms of competition, leading to failures or restructuring of incumbent firms, and the regrouping of incumbents and challengers in which the winners succeed, through lobbying and political influence, in imposing new conceptions of control or regulatory systems. Abramovay (2006) draws on Bourdieu's ideas as developed by Fligstein to propose a broader economic sociology focussed on analysing the interactions

¹¹ This perspective suggests that some type and degree of formalization, written or otherwise, is present in all social rules. Even supposedly informal institutions, such as secret societies or patronage-based political systems involve transmission of some sort of explicit rule, through processes of symbolic exchange, gift or ritual that cement social obligations and political allegiance, such as rites determining eligibility for membership, and exchange of political favours for votes. It questions the idea of customary law as an informal institution, and focuses instead the operations of customary practice, for instance in negotiating access to land within which the only explicit rules may relate to reciprocal social obligations and requirements to consult political or spiritual authorities. Codification of customary practice may be resisted because it reifies regularities into law and removes the flexibility inherent in negotiation between actors.

of distinct social groups and organisations in shaping local development trajectories and constructing hierarchical relationships amongst different groups and geographical locations.

Similar perspectives are adopted in historical institutionalist approaches, which share with NIE a view of institutions as products of human social and economic interaction, but focus more explicitly on power relations which shape historically the rules encapsulated in institutional structures, in line with the type of “equilibria” most favourable to the dominant actors (Mahoney and Thelen 2010, Leftwich and Sen 2010). Whereas proponents of rational-choice institutionalism in economics tend to emphasize the role of institutions in aligning the incentives structures of actors in such a way as “to help capture the gains from collaboration” (Weingast 2002 p.20, cited in Leftwich 2007 p.22), approaches more influenced by political economy regard institutions as social rules or conventions subject to contestation and alteration as a result of shifts in social consensus and alignment of interests and power relations amongst social actors. Institutions are also subject to the action by the state and these factors together can bring about institutional and economic change. Institutions require legitimacy, consistency, implementation, maintenance, and often, investment, in order to be effective.

Although institutions do structure social interaction, and thereby influence development outcomes, they do not *determine* social relations and interactions, which depend on actors strategies. Actors do not necessarily play by the rules and may instead seek to evade, undermine, influence or change them (Leftwich and Sen 2010). Changes can also occur where rules are not clear or contradictory, or where regulation of social practice is not well institutionalised, and particular groups of actors construct alternative arrangements, for example to organise land use and access arrangements in informal settlements. This approach shifts the focus away from an exclusive concern with institutions as rules to a broader set of interactions of actors or agents – individuals and organisations – with institutions of different kinds, in which processes of institutional formation, reproduction and change are fundamentally political.

It is important to recognise the unavoidably political and contested dynamics of institutional formation, implementation and change. Whatever the issue or sector – from state-business relations to land reform or contract farming – it is important now to focus attention on the processes and the actors, especially organisations. (Leftwich and Sen 2010 p.57).

Nevertheless, in common with rational choice economic perspectives on institutions, political economy approaches have also tended to regard institutional persistence, rather than change, as the norm in most societies. Analysis has concentrated on explaining why institutions persist, focussing on their capacity for self-reinforcement and reproduction, and regarding them as *equilibria* which allow diverse actors to satisfy their expectations, the fixed historical results of path dependency or of the cognitive adherence of actors to unexamined and unquestioned rules (Mahoney and Thelen 2010). Leftwich (2007) finds that path dependency remains central as the institutions underpinning economic institutions tend to persist where they favour the rich and powerful in society, although ruptures in established patterns of power relations can emerge as a result of the mobilisation of mass democratic movements, or from economic crises and military threats. The scope for change thus depends on the strength of political demands to change power relations, and on the outcome of struggles amongst social and political interest groups to shape the rules, conventions and laws which best suit them.

Because institutions are generally considered difficult and slow to change, the theories tend to ascribe the origin of institutional change, when it does occur, to external or exogenous factors or shocks, suggesting that it is difficult or impossible for institutions to change from within. However this approach has difficulty in accounting for empirical and historical observations of circumstances in which human agency has precipitated, or alternatively resisted institutional change through some form of collective action, or simply by people “voting with their feet”. Institutional change and reproduction both appear to require considerable efforts of coordinated action (Bebbington *et al.* 2008, Hall 2010, Mahoney and Thelen 2010).

Mahoney and Thelen (2010) contend that incremental shifts can add up to fundamental transformations, that path dependent “lock-in” (and the punctuated equilibrium model of change that is embedded within this perspective) is less common than thought and that endogenous factors play a role in more gradual processes of institutional change. Even formally codified rules can be ambiguous and subject to contestation and to differing interpretations. The premise is that change occurs when problems of rule interpretation or enforcement open up space for actors to implement rules in new ways. Since institutions are distributional instruments, that result from power relations, struggles and eventual acceptance amongst actors, rules will have unequal implications for resource allocation, reflecting contributions and interests of the different actors that instigate and influence them. Shifts in

balance of power can result from contextual or external changes, the distributional effects of institutional practice may trigger continued power struggles amongst institutional power holders, or by subordinate or excluded groups aligning with one another to increase their power and influence. Compliance should be treated as a variable, as those who design and instigate institutions are generally not responsible for enforcement, opening up space for change as new interpretations of rules emerge to bend outcomes towards particular actors' preferences, shared understandings shift over time, and inherited rules and practices become unstable. Institutions are thus vulnerable to shifts and to the influence of coalitions of actors in maintaining or changing them. Change occurs in the gaps or "soft spots" between rules and its interpretation or enforcement – the space in which contests occur.

Mahoney and Thelen develop a framework for understanding different types of institutional change, involving four modalities are identified (*ibid.*, pp 15-16): *displacement*, the removal of old rules and introduction of new ones; *layering*: of new rules on top or alongside existing ones; *drift*, or changed impact of rules due to a changing environment; and *conversion*, the changed enactment and interpretation of existing rules. The types of change which can occur depend on the political context – specifically whether or not there are actors with strong veto capacity, and whether or not the agents of the institutions in question have high or low discretion in interpretation and enforcement of rules. Strong veto possibilities favour *layering of new rules and practices* with old ones where authorities have low discretion, but *drift of old rules towards new practices* where discretion is high. With only weak veto possibilities and low levels of discretion to interpret rules, *displacement* of existing institutional arrangements and rules is more likely, but this is more difficult where there are strong veto players, unless they are overruled or become weaker due to changing circumstances. Operation of existing institutions with high levels of discretion can favour *conversion* of old rules and practices into new ones, especially where rules are ambiguous and have contrasting interpretations, or unsuited to changing contexts which stimulate or require different responses.

Mahoney and Thelen (2010) also categorise the different types change agents likely to emerge in different context that influence the types of change that can follow. Whereas *insurrectionaries* tend to seek rapid displacement of old institutions, they often settle for more gradual reform. *Symbionts* co-exist parasitically with institutions that happen to serve their interests and so seek preservation, promoting drift. *Subversives* also seek displacement

but in the short run promote layering through introduction of new rules alongside old ones. *Opportunists* adopt a wait and see approach, committed neither to wholesale change or preservation but also pursuing conversion if it aligns with their interests. Moreover, since institutions regulate distributive outcomes amongst multiple groups, reflecting the balance of power implicit in the status quo, *formation of coalitions* is important, in which different types of actors seeking change can form alliances in order to achieve results. This leads to compromise, piecemeal reform and the partial displacement and transformation of existing institutions in line with shifting balances of power.

As with rational choice institutionalism, historical political economy analysis has also tended to concentrate on macro-historical agrarian changes and associated transformations of class structure (for instance Barrington Moore, (1993 [1966])). However some writers on agrarian change in Brazil have adopted more micro- sociological perspectives in empirical research to investigate processes by which change and evolution occurs in rural social structures. Abramovay (2000) focused on the emergence of small-scale capitalist agriculture amongst market oriented small farmers, and Sabourin (2009) on the tensions prevalent in Northeast Brazil between peasant traditions of reciprocity and the increasing monetization of exchange, and the development of peasant organisations.

Separately, analysis of decentralisation of government institutions has found that despite its potential to improve the quality and responsiveness of development to local conditions, can also increase control over resources and institutions by local elites, as a result of their control of informal systems of regulation and power structures (Navarro 2004, Ribot and Larsen 2004). Leftwich and Sen (2010, p17) find that what can be described as informal political institutions, including “the rules governing patron client chains, old boy networks, patrimonial political relationships and *caciquismo*” frequently function as obstacles to democratic change “overriding the rule of law through informal networks of political reciprocity, rent seeking and corruption”.

2.3.4 Social Participation

Other bodies of literature have focussed on concepts of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969), historical processes of democratisation and extension of citizenship (Tilly 2004) and the development of participatory and deliberative democracy to lever broader social and political

changes through the opening up of ‘new democratic spaces’ of citizen participation and instigation of new decentralised political institutions, significant in Brazil (Cornwall & Schattan Coelho 2004; IDS 2004, Cornwall and Shankland 2008, Pateson 2012). Arnstein (1968) set out a “ladder” of forms of citizen participation in processes of urban renewal, ranging from “manipulation” of public consent by planning authorities, through co-opting popular representatives on to bodies with no effective power, to direct “citizen control” over decision making, without any intermediary bureaucracy between community organisations and funding sources. The intermediary rungs of the ladder span tokenistic approaches including the provision of information to the public, their engagement in consultation processes, with no guarantees that views will actually be taken into account, and placation, by granting citizen representatives advisory powers or limited influence over some decisions, but also forms of partnership and delegated citizen power which create some real opportunities to participate and influence outcomes, although falling short of direct citizen control (Arnstein 1968).

Renewed interest in participatory democracy has emerged since the late 1990s, focussed on creation of deliberative bodies with popular representation in specific arenas and on broader participation in municipal budget making for multiple sectors, inspired by the success of participatory budgeting in the city of Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul, in southern Brazil (Pateman 2012). In this case citizen participation was institutionalised at three levels in regular budget cycles, involving both regional and thematic popular assemblies, in which all citizens have a right to participate, budget forums, and a Municipal Budget Council which have representatives elected by the popular assemblies. In other cases participatory democracy is less well institutionalised, as deliberative bodies are convened on an *ad hoc* basis for particular purposes, popular decisions are not followed through by anticipated funding or adequate arrangements for monitoring, or where citizen authority extends over only limited parts of the budget, or benefits from limited or weak supporting legislation, enabling incoming state or municipal governments to overturn participatory practices introduced by previous administrations. According to Pateman (2012) many of these innovations fall short of participatory democracy; while they involve an expansion of citizenship, and may result in greater accountability of bureaucracy and improvements in governance, they fit into existing authority structures, rather than seeking to change them.

Following wide dissemination of Brazil's pioneering experience with participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, experimentation with participatory democracy continues in Brazil in various locations, sectors and at different levels. Although some experiences have proved successful and the establishment of consultative municipal scale development councils in multiple sectors is now generalised in Brazil, deliberative democracy is not yet strongly institutionalised, vis-a-vis the system of representative democracy levels consolidated in the 1988 post-dictatorship constitution. The system of representative democracy provides the basis of institutionalised Federal, State, and Municipal power in the Brazilian politics and particularly at municipal level in the Northeast, is combined with informal political networks strong elements of patron - client relations. These systems are subject to high degrees of institutional path dependency, and in practice mechanisms for political representation within participatory democratic arenas are not well established, and participation in the new deliberative institutions is often self-selecting, and dominated by the more organised social movements (Houtzager and Lavallo 2009).

The introduction of new arenas of participation, and the establishment of new, more participatory, deliberative political institutions in Brazil can be regarded as part of a continuing process of democratization and extension of citizenship, involving the integration of pre-democratic "trust networks" into public politics (Tilly 2004) in a context in which patron-client relationships established by local oligarchs and political elites still dominate in isolated rural areas. According to Tilly (2004 p.13-14):

Democratization means increases in the breadth and equality of relations between governmental agents and the subject population, in binding consultation....with respect to governmental personnel, resources, and policy and in protection of that population (especially minorities within it) from arbitrary action by governmental agents.

A necessary prior, although not sufficient, condition for democratisation is the creation of citizenship, or the set of "rights and obligations linking whole categories of a regime's subject population to governmental agents" (*ibid.* p.8). Tilly proposes that democracy further involves three key ingredients: elimination of categorical inequalities between different social groups; the integration of private trust networks into public politics; and mechanisms for the extension of citizenship that increases the breadth, equality, enforcement and security of mutual obligations between citizens and government.

Mechanisms that dissolve insulated patron-client -based trust networks and establish new ones, broaden political participation, enhance collective control, inhibit the operation of arbitrary power and dissolve legal or institutional controls that support social inequality and encourage equalisation of assets across categories in the population can be regarded as inherently democratic (*ibid.*, p.7 -20), and remain highly relevant in Northeast Brazil today. In this context the institutional changes that are most relevant from the point of view of inclusive rural development are fundamentally political. They include changes that establish these types of mechanism, including not only egalitarian constitutional and legal provisions extending political and economic rights to all groups, and the introduction of uniform governmental structures and practices throughout national territories, but also the introduction of new democratic spaces and deliberative institutions at regional and local levels, in which all citizens can engage and which, in Tilly's terms, enable "protected consultation" of marginalised social groups and curb the domination of patron-client relations in social and political life. The state itself can play an active role in introducing institutional changes of these types, but their operation depends on their legitimacy amongst social actors, and their active participation.

2.3.5 Social movements and coalitions

Historically, the establishment of democratic institutions have invariably involved contestations and struggles by social actors through the emergence and development of social movements or broader coalitions that make political claims on the state to challenge policies, segregated trust networks and categorical inequalities between groups (Tilly 2004).

In papers that underpinned development of the conceptual framework of the RTD programme, Schejtman and Berdegúe (2008, 2004) reviewed a wide range of the relevant literature to identify findings and concepts of use in understanding the roles of social actors and organisations in policy and institutional change. They advanced the idea of social coalitions, which the programme defined as "tacit or explicit alliances of actors which contest and seek to control the distribution of assets and of tangible and intangible social products or benefits" (Rimisp 2008 p.1). A social coalition is understood as a grouping or alliance of actors collaborating to advance or defend common agendas, interests or visions of development which may be in active or latent conflict with those subscribed to by other groups of actors. Most of the previous literature, however, addresses national level politics

and institutional change without considering more territorially disaggregated processes, involving local government and civil society organisations and the operation of decentralised institutions.

Bebbington (2011; Bebbington *et al.* 2008) identified three ways and forms of organisation in which social actors contribute to institutional change, recognised in the RTD programme synthesis papers (Berdegué *et al.* 2012, Fernandez and Asensio forthcoming): through protest and mobilisation by social movements; through advocacy and influence by policy networks or epistemic communities; and through the formation of social coalitions. These concepts are explored below.

Social movements

Social movements can be understood broadly groupings of actors in civil society organised to pursue specific sets of objectives of social change. A wide variety of social movements exist and no single definition fits all (Crossley (2002)).¹² All share common characteristics in being collective enterprises, displaying shared beliefs and relations of solidarity amongst members, putting forward ideas proposals for societal change usually engaged in sustained interaction with opponents or with the state, and utilising various forms of protest (Crossley 2002). Social movements may be based on informal networks of actors and may involve both individuals and organisations, but may also be constituted as membership organisations to which people and organisations are formally affiliated and bound by formal or informal rules. Crossley adopts a conceptual orientation derived from Bourdieu combining human agency and social structure, which is useful in considering collective social action: social movements provide arenas in which individual actors are linked to create collective agency in the context of specific social structures and constraints that the movements seek to change, such as structural inequalities in access to housing, education, health services, land, or agricultural markets.

Over the last 30 years social movements have grown in influence at regional and scales In Brazil, changing political alliances in government, and leading in some cases achieving decisive influence over outcomes of municipal and even state level elections and politics.

¹² Crossley's overview draws on a range of earlier accounts of social movements notably Smelser's (1962) *Theory of Collective Behaviour* and on historical accounts by of the role of social mobilisation in political and institutional change in Europe, subsequently developed in Tilly (2004).

Whereas trade unions and representative organisations defending the interests of particular social sectors existed throughout the 20th Century, during the dictatorship a variety of social movements emerged from the political opposition as strong players pursuing continuing agendas of social change under successive democratic governments. Abramovay *et al.* (2008) locate the origins of the contemporary rural workers movements and unions in conflicts between conservative and left wing elements of the Catholic Church in 1963, prior to Brazil's 1964 military *coup d'état*. During the subsequent dictatorship trade unions adopted an oppositional stance, and the work of the liberation theology inspired Catholic left at local community levels though the *Comunidades Ecclesias de Base* (CEBs, or Christian Base Communities) fostered the growth of opposition movements (Mainwaring 1986).

Brazil's social movements have been instrumental in "enlargement of the public sphere" (Abramovay *et al.* 2008, Bonnal *et al.* 2010 p19): prompting the state to respond to the hitherto marginalised and subordinate social interest of the urban and rural poor (and those of specific social groups such as the landless, small farmers, indigenous and afro-descendent communities) and the creation of new spaces of political and public debate in which those interests contest and engage with others. This occurs as a result of the protagonism of social movements in seeking to convert claims and social demands into rights or practical entitlements, for instance secure land title for formerly landless farmworkers or to payment of pensions on retirement from agricultural work,. Wolford (2010) argues that the Brazilian landless movement, specifically MST, has in effect extended participatory democracy because its demands and state officials' lack of resources and capacity to undertake planned and systematic land distribution led them to collaborate with the movement in practice. Wolford cites specific cases of collaboration between INCRA, the government land reform agency and the land reform movements MST and CPT in targeting specific land holdings for redistribution and the provision of services to land reform settlements.

From a geographer's point of view, Brenner (2011) points out that social movements can adopt both place-based and network forms and locates social struggles for a sense of place and territorial rootedness in the "politics of space" (Lefebvre 2008 [1976]) that emerged in the late 20th Century. State structures provide overlapping institutional arenas within which social movements can seek to modify uneven outcomes and processes of uneven spatial development. The pursuit of political influence, shares of public revenue flows, specific electoral outcomes, policy agendas and legal arrangements generally assumes a territorial

form. Territorial state structures at different levels become a terrain of contestation and social movements and state structures and institutions may come to interpenetrate (Brenner 2011, p145), as in fact occurred in Brazil during the Lula administration from 2003-2010. Relevant questions for empirical research are to what extent these sorts of social movements democratic enlargements of public arenas have brought about change in practice, through what mechanisms, and with what results.

Policy and advocacy networks

Literature in political science illustrates the utility of concepts of policy networks (Borzel 2005) and advocacy coalitions (Sabatier and Jenkins Smith 1999) in explaining how institutional changes can take place through the influence of networks of actors in national political fields. Such networks or coalitions typically involve politicians, officials, intellectuals and other actors such as business federations, NGOs or social movements. For instance, Birner and Witmer (2003) discuss the acquisition of political capital by emergent peasants' organisations in Thailand through establishing links with policy actors enabling the development of broader social movements and coalitions which have influenced the implementation of agriculture and forest policies. Internal strengthening of social organisations and their capacity to form alliances with other actors can enable hitherto marginalised groups to establish higher levels of political capital and gain greater direct influence over government and government policy at various levels and bring about different types of institutional change. The idea of advocacy coalitions also finds expression in that of *epistemic communities* or networks of competent, experienced professionals with knowledge relevant to specific policy fields (Haas 1992), and shared understandings and beliefs in relation to social and economic questions which lead them to advocate and act in favour of specific institutional changes.

Social Coalitions

Implicit in discussions of bridging and linking forms of social capital and the linkage of local actors into broader policy and advocacy networks is the idea of social coalitions that comprise different types of actor and social groups - for instance community-based organisations, social movements and policy and economic actors that pursue common objectives, and agendas for social, political or economic change. Historically, the formation of cross-cutting, political coalitions, linking or uniting a diversity of local actors and

movements including those excluded from power has been central to the establishment and deepening of democratic political institutions in Europe (Tilly 2004).

The RTD programme drew on the concepts of distributive coalitions in US institutionalist accounts of the origins of national political formations development and processes of economic change in various countries which introduced the idea of “distributive coalitions” (Acemoglu and Robinson 2005; see also North, Wallis & Weingast, 2009, Rodrik 2003), to develop a broader concept of social coalitions that influence or determine the dynamics of territorial or place-based development. The programme sought to identify innovative or transformative social coalitions responsible for promoting successful territorial dynamics, in other words, coalitions of actors capable of articulating some form of development vision and bringing about changes to institutions (in the sense of formally or informally established rules and norms of social interaction) which can in turn improve territorial or region-specific outcomes in terms of economic growth, social inclusion and sustainability (Rimisp 2008, Schejtman and Berdegúe 2008).

Following empirical research conducted in twenty rural territories in eleven different countries, which included the research reported here, the RTD programme sought to analyse different types of social coalition, the conditions under which transformative coalitions emerge, and the ways in which they influence institutional change. Berdegúe *et al.* (2011) following Bebbington *et al.* (2008) find that social coalitions have greater potential than other forms of collective action to influence territorial development trajectories in directions that combine growth with increased social inclusion. This is because coalitions can enable the interests of less favoured groups to be taken into account by decision makers, due to their potential to forge linkages between local actors and others at regional, national and even international levels which can have determining effects on rural development processes.

Social coalitions do not necessarily promote democratic development and progressive change but can also be conservative, seeking new opportunities to advance dominant interests and working to defend existing power relations by reproducing established institutions and practices, or to change them so as to advance their own interests. Nor are social coalitions necessarily territorial in nature, or restricted to territorial actors. As documented by a number of the RTD programme case studies, external or even global private interests can ally with interest groups and elites in particular places and with specific elements of national

government to secure control of natural resources for commercial exploitation. This may involve changing legislation and institutional arrangements for planning, excluding local interests that oppose the changes in resource utilisation and control. In these circumstances a counter coalition which similarly commands influential external alliances and access to national institutions is likely to be required in order to resist change or ensure that investments and resulting distribution of benefits take proper account of the full range of territorial interests.

Hall (2010) suggests that the nature, timing and direction of institutional changes can best be understood in relation to the coalitions of actors who line up for or against them. Mobilising actors to enact reforms can pose a collective action problem, and the prevailing “instrumental beliefs” or means-ends schemas of different actors are key ingredients in coalition formation. In this context the different resources, assets or forms of capital available to different groups are important factors, including the strength of social capital, and capacity to links with other groups across geographical and social distance. Symbolic and discursive power are relevant in that ideas, historical allegiances and ideological tendencies of can be critical factors in mobilising social actors for change: “The politics of ideas is intrinsic, not just epiphenomenal to the process of coalition formation that underpins institutional change” (Hall 2010, p212). The question of shared identities, values and discourse is therefore central to processes of coalition formation and to institutional change or reproduction. A coalition may stop short of achieving political influence or changing institutional rules, if the skills and resources or the types of economic, cultural, political and symbolic capital its members can deploy constraints its ability to expand and forge alliances with other actors with additional resources, communications and lobbying power. The power of persuasion, argument and evidence can affect the formation of coalitions, which is why specific epistemic communities or policy networks concerned with particular issues can be an important source of inspiration for change, empowering subordinate actors and sometimes altering the calculus of dominant actors regarding maintenance of certain rules and practices.

Similarly, in examining RTD case study results Fernandez and Asensio (forthcoming) identify discursive power is a key feature of successful coalitions. Consequently, extra-territorial alliances of local actors with members of broader policy and links into epistemic networks and acquisition of new capacities and skills by local actors are identifiable features of “discursive coalitions” that promote institutional changes by devising and disseminating

alternative practices and articulating persuasive alternative visions (Berdegué, Bebbington *et al.* 2012). Typically the ideas of epistemic communities seeking policy change gain power through linkages with political and community leaders, entrepreneurs, and government officials that lead to territorialised institutional changes. They can also be a source of experimental reforms and adjustments, in which different organisational forms are tried out and adapted, further developed or in some cases rejected as ineffective (Hall 2010, p. 218).

Change may be frequent and abrupt in some cases, but more frequently, slow and incremental (*ibid.* p.219). Social movements may seek insurrectional changes by mobilising their membership in direct political contestation, but in practice they also draw on broader policy networks, and form alliances with other actors to achieve results, involving gradual change, or in some cases piecemeal reforms with the introduction of new institutional forms and sets of rules alongside old ones, as discussed earlier in section 2.3.3. In post-dictatorship Brazil, appeals to shared societal understandings of fairness and social justice, for instance by the land reform movement in the 1990s, were valuable in building broader coalitions for change in the direction of greater social inclusion. Meanwhile, conservative coalitions have also adjusted ideas, practices and strategies to achieve greater accommodation to emergent national institutional changes and new generations of formerly dominant groups have acted opportunistically as previously dominant practices and strategies collapse under changing circumstances, as discussed by Favareto *et al.* (2012), in assessing recent changes in Northeast Brazil's semi-arid interior. As Hall (2010) notes, and in common with ideas of path dependency (North 1991) and cumulative causation of entrenched patterns of spatial development (Santos 2001), the likelihood of particular institutional changes is affected by the outcomes of previous episodes of institutional change (Hall 2010, p.209) and also by the character of existing institutions, including the influence that civil society may have had. One set of changes in institutions, which can create further gaps in the effectiveness and legitimacy of in other previously dominant, and enlarge constituencies in favour of further change. Similarly, changes in one location or district can lead by example and spill over elsewhere.

2.3.6 The state and the role of public policy

The state itself is frequently involved in bringing about (or alternatively resisting) institutional change. Although the state can be considered as a set of consolidated institutions

more or less resistant to change, it is not monolithic, and as noted earlier in discussing social capital, state agents can participate in coalitions for change. Government is a coalition that inherits state structures, “a palimpsest of institutions and organizational forms created by diverse coalitions” (Berdegué, Bebbington *et al.* 2012 p.36). It has particular power because of the network of governmental institutions to which a governing coalition has privileged access, enabling it to lead the development process. Although governments normally seek to change, remove, or replace state institutions, this may require levels of unity in a governing coalition difficult to achieve. Governments must deal with state bureaucracies and with the external coalitions in civil society, which sometimes operating on the basis of relatively fragile pacts. As a result different social coalitions can appeal to and make use of different institutions or laws, and different elements of the state may promulgate new practices in alliance with different combinations of territorial and extra territorial actors (Berdegué, Bebbington *et al.* 2012).

Public policies can be regarded as actions or proposals promoted principally but not exclusively by government to address problems in contemporary society, or as “the state in action” (Bonnal and Kato 2011; Bonnal *et al.*, 2011 pp.48-49 citing Jobert and Nuller 1987). Bonnal *et al.* (2011) proposed that public policies should be understood as resulting from the combination of different interests, ideas and institutions (referred to by Bonnal *et al.* as “the three “i”s”) leading to the adoption of specific measures, decisions and legal or policy frameworks, with specific target audiences or beneficiaries to address certain objectives and problems. Public policies are characterised by different elements including frameworks and resources for public action (budgets, judicial norms and specialised institutions), and intervention practices in a specific social or economic sector or project. As elements of these frameworks and practices originate in collective social constructions by diverse groups of actors including those in civil society and organised private interests, or under pressure from international organisations we can also speak of “public action” in which the state itself has a less central role (Bonnal *et al.* 2011).

Public policies also have a cognitive focus, in terms of how cause and effect are understood and represented in society. Different actors in government and civil society advocate certain policy measures believing that will have certain results by setting in train certain causal processes. In practice, policies result from negotiation amongst actors involving complex interaction of diverse ideas related to interests at stake and institutions in place or in the

process of construction. They also involve sequential actions which have their own, sometimes unpredictable life cycles, and are subject to change depending on practical outcomes, or, in a rationalist policy perspective according to the accumulation or organisation of evidence about the effects and results of policy actions. Policy and its effects are contingent on specific historical conditions and the roles and responses adopted by different actors. Building on this discussion by Bonnal *et al.* (2011), an institutionalist perspective is also relevant: once certain policies are adopted, state and public action do not have complete autonomy to address societal problems by manipulating social and economic behaviour, because these are at least to some degree path dependent by virtue of being inserted into a particular institutional context - the set of pre-existing formal and informal rules, norms and values which regulate individual and collective behaviour.

The institutional context of policy implementation can include frameworks deliberately established for the governance of economic development, public services, and the organisations involved. “Governance” can be regarded as the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well as economic and societal actors interact to make (and implement) decisions (Hyden *et al.* 2008) – or in other words the institutional arrangements for management, oversight and guidance to public policy and planning, including mechanisms for participation and accountability, to bring about shared societal objectives in a context of multiple, often conflicting interests. Although the institutional frameworks for governance are to some extent susceptible to change as a result of policy, they are also subject to inherited mechanisms and received rules and practices which limit and condition the scope for change, implying that broader social action is required in addition to policy intervention.

Schejtman and Berdegué (2008, 2004) identified a set of normative criteria to appraise territorial development policies, including: attention to the needs for simultaneous productive and institutional change; adopting a broad conception of the rural; viewing “territory” as rural space with a specific social identity; addressing diversity amongst rural territories; achieving synergy amongst sector policies and involvement of the full range of actors; addressing the multiple livelihood strategies of poor households and adopting medium to long term perspectives. Similar perspectives were also articulated by IICA (2001) and have informed development of the EU LEADER programme in Europe.

Following the RTD research programme into the drivers of positive rural development trajectories in Latin American rural territories, including the research reported here, some empirically informed principles regarding the territorial dimensions and impacts of public policy as a whole have emerged from the RTD programme's analysis of twenty case studies (Rimisp 2011, Berdegué *et al.* 2012). This guidance focuses on needs for (i) territorially disaggregated data, and examination of development outcomes and policy impacts through a territorial lens in developing policies in shaping policies to reduce inter-regional inequality and strengthen national territorial cohesion; (ii) use of territorial development funds in proactive development of innovative social coalitions within rural territories; and (iii) forms of decentralisation that transfer effective power, capacity and resources to local government in a context of genuine social participation and exercise of citizenship, necessary to avoid elite capture. These findings and recommendations on the territorial dimensions of public policy are further discussed and applied in relation to the case study area in Chapter 7.

2.4 Synthesis and conclusion

The final section of this chapter summarises the conceptual framework used in my research, and how the key elements of the RTD programme's conceptual framework focussing on the interactions of social actors, institutions, and distribution of capital assets leading to development outcomes can be developed into an overall socio-spatial conceptual framework that combines different theoretical perspectives. It takes up the concepts of territory and social construction of space and perspectives on economic development, social action and institutional change discussed in this chapter to consider how they can be used to investigate particular cases of territorial dynamics and appraise rural development policies critically, and their broad implications for research methodology.

2.4.1 Overarching concepts

In approaching territorial dynamics and territorial development policies and approaches the concept of territory is central. Given the multifaceted nature of territory as geographic space with which social actors identify (Schejtman and Berdegué, 2004, 2008), and the different ways in which the term is used, at multiple scales, an integrated and rigorous relational understanding of the concept of territory encompassing its socio-cultural, political and economic dimensions, similar to that set out by Haesbeart (2002, 2004), is key to the conceptual framework for my research. In particular, the multi-scalar character of the

territorial organisation of space (Brenner 1999, 2011) implies that the actions, decisions and strategies of institutions and actors operating at different scales, can unfold and interact in development processes at local, regional, national, and supra-national or even global levels. In this context, and particularly in relation to economic development, network linkages and flows of goods, people, information and ideas connecting particular localities with others, and with markets and institutions at broader regional national or global levels have also become increasingly important (Castells 2003, Elden 2004). Moreover these interactions and can lead to the deconstruction and reconfiguration of territorial space as new identities emerge and new territorial jurisdictions of political institutions are defined (Deleuze and Guattari 2002, Haesbaert 2006, Brenner 2011). As a result, places, people and social groups experience multiple trajectories in development processes and outcome, which are not necessarily specifically territorial, and need to be apprehended empirically (Massey 2005). These concepts can be applied in a rural context to explore the socio-cultural, political and economic dimensions of spatial development in particular cases which requires examination of how specific localities or territories are inserted into wider networks, as well as identification of endogenous processes.

A second overarching component of the approach which helps to structure the conceptual framework and understand its different elements, is a general theoretical approach to social action based on Bourdieu's theory of practice, encompassing both human agency and social structure. This can be applied to identify the different social, economic and political *fields* relevant to territorial dynamics that actors are engaged in, and to assess how changing power relations and access to different types of resources and capital assets affect development outcomes in particular locations.

2.4.2 Main components

Institutions

A broad view of social institutions includes both formally established and informally constructed rules and rule-based practices, and can also extend to organisations which have formal constitutional structures and recognised and enduring distributional and regulatory and functions in specific fields of social, economic and political life. I adopt a broad approach to institutional development and change, drawing on NIE, and historical institutionalist perspectives, in which self-reinforcing institutions are shaped by and express the interaction

of different groups over time in changing environments. The literatures on institutions and economic geography suggest that path dependence is an enduring feature of both institutional and spatial development, but that institution building is essentially a political process, contested by multiple groups, in which the both radical and gradual changes are possible under certain conditions. Moreover, state intervention, economic behaviour and collective social action can all play a role, and may be mutually reinforcing. Although most accounts of policy and institutional change address broad political fields and institutional arenas, such as national law making or the regulatory environment for business at national, regional or even global scales, the same concepts can be applied to identify and assess the different types and specific instances of institutions that are operational within, or have a bearing on particular geographical spaces, whether or not they are endogenous to them. The establishment of democratic political institutions which extend opportunities for citizen participation and control over policy decisions, resource allocation and asset distribution impacting on development dynamics can be expected to play a central role in achieving more inclusive rural development.

Actors

While any individual or collective form of human agency can be labelled an actor, the combined actions of individual agents and collective action by social groups and organisations of different kinds are more effective in bringing about social, political, economic or institutional change and influence development processes. Different forms of collective action, including social movements, networks of different kinds and broader social coalitions linking different groups and types of actors can all influence development processes and the institutions involved. These concepts can all be applied to make sense of data and information about the role of organisations of different kinds, acting collectively to defend or advance private or common interests, including different agencies and branches of the State, as well as those in civil society and the private sector.

Assets

In a primarily rural, agricultural and natural resource-based economy, access to productive land, and other natural resources notably water is of prime importance for both subsistence and commercial production. As agriculture and other economic activities develop and diversify access to finance, physical infrastructure, knowledge and skills to deliver goods and

services to market become essential to economic actors and for social reproduction. The distribution of all these types of capital assets affects development outcomes and distribution of benefits in society.

Social theory also highlights the central importance of social capital, the collaborative advantages and opportunities available to individuals and groups as a result of established their immediate social relationships and participation in wider networks. Social capital is of importance not only in helping to access or make use of productive resources but also to social groups, networks and organisations in bringing about institutional and policy changes that affect distribution of resources and benefits of growth and development. Whereas social movements, policy and advocacy networks, and deliberate state policies may all contribute to changing outcomes, the development and emergence of social coalitions with strong elements of horizontal and vertical “bridging” or “linking” social capital bringing together different actors and groups operating in different locations and at different scales appears to provide the most powerful combination of resources. The effectiveness of mechanisms for communication, representation and negotiation of collective social interests by delegates and leaders are also important in formation of coalitions. To achieve common interests, emerging social coalitions or new collective actors must articulate common sets of ideas, or shared visions of development, involving processes of representation, delegation, debate, negotiation of a common language or symbolic discourse.

In practice, however, the action of social coalitions is diverse and can occur at multiple scales. Various permutations are possible in the type, level and scale of arenas in which social coalitions can organise and institutional changes that can occur; these need to be assessed empirically. Social coalitions may overlap with network organisations and political arenas established by the state or by actors themselves, for example in attempts to establish new democratic spaces and deliberative institutions. Thus an integrated framework incorporating both social theory and geography is needed to investigate the spatial diversity of development dynamics and outcomes.

Public policies and governance

To supplement this overall framework, the concept of public policies put forward by Bonnal *et al.* (2011), as actions or proposals in government to address problems in society, realisation of which is constrained and influenced by markets, civil society and state institutions

themselves, is used. Finally, a concept of governance as the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, to bring about shared societal objectives (Hyden *et al.* 2008) in a context of multiple, often conflicting interests, is also useful. Here I suggest that “territorial governance” could be considered as the combined institutional arrangements and processes which regulate and legitimate the interaction and activities of actors in the development of specific geographical spaces. An institutional and policy question that arises is that of how to determine and design appropriate and flexible subsidiarity in territorial governance, given the interaction of development processes and institutions at multiple scales.

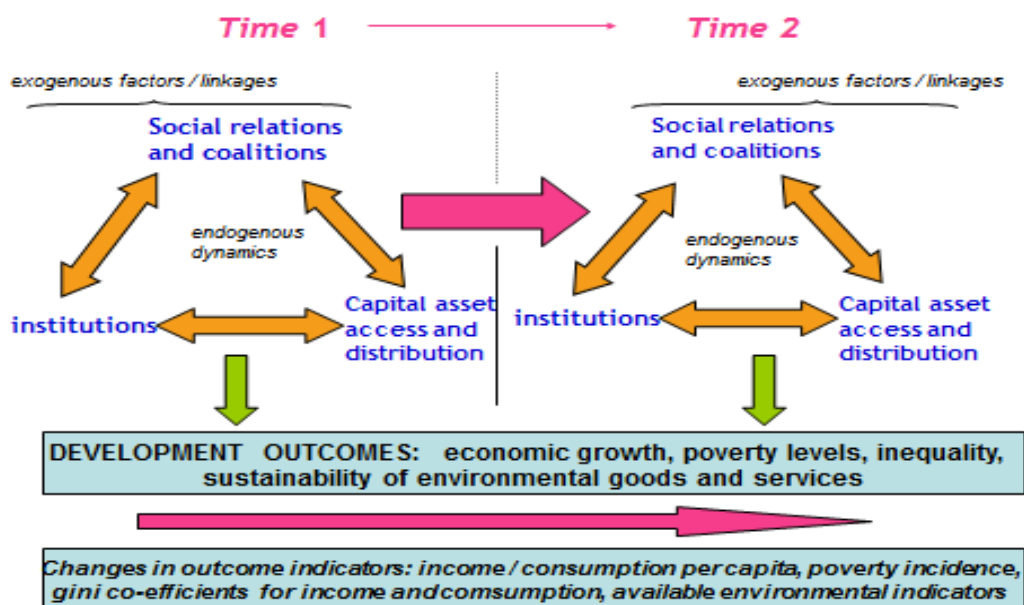
2.4.3 Conclusions

The questions of what ways, for what purposes and to what extent specific geographical areas could be considered as discrete territorial fields are relevant in assessing the effects of government policies, social actors and coalitions, and market processes on development outcomes. The conceptual framework, as represented by the simple diagram at the beginning of this chapter, assumes implicitly that the idea of territory as a unit of analysis is given, that the boundaries are known, the institutions and actors determining driving development processes and outcomes are essentially endogenous to it, and can be readily identified. However in a context of dynamic change, the extent to which markets, institutions, and forms of collective action correspond geographically to any particular rural area, and how these may be linked to wider networks at broader scales, and thereby driven by exogenous factors, are central to a causal understanding of factors that lead to localised outcomes. Consequently, the framework requires the introduction of notions of scale and multiple levels at which social coalitions and institutions operate and interact.

To cater for this, a more developed, visual representation of the conceptual framework reflecting changes over time is set out in Figure 2.2, below. This version of the diagram, developed from that in Figure 2.1, separates changes in development outcomes from the changes in the type of indicators used by the RTD programme to identify where positive changes have occurred, given that these are not the same things, and that separately from measurement of indicators of change, broader qualitative assessment is needed to understand the real nature of territorial development outcomes, and how these are related to changing interactions of driving factors. The diagram also seeks to encapsulate a notion of “neo-

endogenous development” (Lowe *et al.* 1995, Ray 1998), in which the interactions of social actors, institutions and capital assets that affect local, endogenous dynamics are both endogenous and exogenous to any specific territory, and that the specific linkages that local actors and institutions have with wider factors at multiple scales are important.

Fig. 2.2 Schematic representation of interactions of changes in social relations, access to assets and institutions with development outcomes (source: Quan *et al.* 2011; author’s adaptation of model developed at RTD programme workshop in April 2009, based on RIMISP 2008)



Key questions to be addressed in the research are to what extent the institutions and actors concerned are internal or endogenous to the case study area, the type of external linkages they have, and how changes over time in both internal and external interactions of actors and institutions have affected the utilisation and distribution of assets and resources and the resulting development outcomes within case study area as a specific geographic space.

If territory is considered to be constituted by social factors and economic interactions generating common identities and development processes, as in the perspective adopted by the RTD programme, and by Brazilian rural policy, this can lead to a rather loose usage of the term territory, equivalent to rural “space”, “area”, or “region” in which rural territories are assumed to be somehow discrete and relatively autonomous to wider national society and economy (for example Albuquerque 2002, MDA 2004, Schejtman and Berdegúe 2004, 2008,

Rimisp 2008), without always clearly defining what is meant. In the rhetoric of territorial development policy – the promotion of new approaches involving collaboration across sectors and establishment of new fora for citizen and civil society participation, both within and across multiple local government units - the relationships of territory to existing spatial politico-administrative organisation are often absent. Although politico-administrative boundaries are paradigmatic features of territory in political science and political geography (Sack 1986, Hirst 2002), discussions of territory in development policy are hampered by lack of attention to its political significance: there are tendencies to slide between different geographical scales, and between conceptions of territory founded on politico-spatial sovereignty and on more complex and amorphous processes of social construction by disparate actors.

The territorial configuration of political authority and institutions in relation to the territoriality of different social groups and their linkages with wider regional markets was therefore an important question to be considered throughout the research because of its importance in determining the types of institutions and institutional changes and forms of collective action that influence development outcomes. There is little point in treating a territory as a discrete object of development policy and practice if there are no specific politico-administrative or other social institutions that correspond with it, with which the actors can engage. In Brazil, politically defined territorial fields could be said to exist at municipal scale, at the level of States, and in cases where institutions have been established with authority over particular regions, but in the absence of any intermediate meso-level of government it is not self-evident that any other sort of specifically territorial political fields exist. This situation is problematic, in that the large numbers of frequently very small municipalities in Brazil create a fragmented institutional environment, in a context in which economic organisation, social networks, culture and bio-physical landscape features may often constitute territories extending beyond the municipal scale to which no other political institutions correspond. In this respect the scale of local government institutions in Brazil differs from that in various other Latin American countries and that in sub-Saharan Africa. The extent to which different actors and organisations share understandings of territory and how far the socio-cultural, economic and political fields and networks in which they engage coincide territorially with the assets, resources and institutions they contest and deploy can only be ascertained empirically.

The perspectives and lessons of geography need to be taken seriously, in considering the nature of territoriality as something which exists at different scales, pertaining to individuals, households, extended families, village communities or more extended and mobile social groups, government organisations, public and private agencies operating in different geographical domains and at different scales. Despite common features of social identification with and senses of belonging to certain geographical areas, these subjective senses of territoriality inevitably overlap according to the location, mobility and network relations of different actors. In addition, actions taking place at different territorial scales have impacts and outcomes at others: macro policy interventions by a nation state (for instance to introduce poverty targeted income transfers, or to withdraw or extend agricultural extension or credit services), or by a regional development agency (to finance construction of a dam or a major road), clearly affect opportunities at local level as well as the development of broader economies. An adequate theory of territorial development needs to use an integrated but nonetheless rigorous concept of territory which has socio-cultural, politico-administrative and economic dimensions, and to adopt clear perspective on the inter-relationship of development processes which originate and unfold at different geographical scales.

A number of specific considerations are important in applying an integrated concept of territory in a rigorous way to the analysis of development processes in particular cases, pointing towards aspects to be identified empirically:

- i) The social construction of territory occurs at multiple scales and involves interacting, intersecting and conflicting interests of different social groups, individuals and organisations that seek to control, appropriate and influence the utilization of space and the resources it contains in different ways.
- ii) In considering territoriality, questions of boundaries and of scale are ever-present, although there is no fixed territorial scale. Territory may be defined as small or large, and constituted at different micro, meso, or macro scales, for instance by different levels and branches of government. Thus the specific relationships between territory as socially constructed and the by geographical organisation of the machinery of government need to be identified.

iii) The territorialities of different organisations, social groups, and development programmes may or may not be precisely bounded and they can also overlap according to the nature of the group, agency or political authority involved, and the purposes for which territories are defined and established.

iv) Territories as constructed and recognised socio-culturally by social groups or resident populations may or may not correspond with territories as spaces of political jurisdiction, but the interaction of political and administrative authorities at different spatial scales and the occupation and use of space by different social groups are likely to be significant in shaping territorial development processes. In practice, in real world processes of socio-spatial development, territories and institutional and organisational forms are co-constructed.

v) It is not necessarily the case that development dynamics are discretely territorialised within specific areas, or that specifically local territorial institutional arrangements and innovations are essential in producing progressive outcomes.

vi) Conflicts of interest, structural inequalities and power relations amongst different social actors may not be recognisable within discrete areas or territorial units without considering to historical social processes affecting adjacent and wider regions or nations as a whole, reflected in diverse development trajectories of specific places. Consequently in defining specific geographical spaces or territories, as units of analysis of rural development, their insertion into wider regional development dynamics needs to be considered.

To analyse development dynamics and outcomes, and address spatial dimensions of development, social and economic theory must be complemented by geography to assess the utility and legitimacy of rural policy. Through the co-construction of social space and of politico-administrative institutional forms, territories may emerge as more or less discrete spatial fields, but these are not necessarily always present, and broader regional or national policies, networks and development processes may determine development outcomes for particular groups in specific places. Political science is also needed to assess the fit between spatial development dynamics and politically constituted territories, and the conditions under which social movements, state agencies and market actors can develop new forms of social capital through which they can form broader coalitions with sufficient political capital to bring about institutional change.

This conceptual framework entails a particular set of methodological approaches which can be applied in gathering, analysing and interpreting empirical data in the case study area, and are further developed in Chapter Four:

- Characterisation of the case study as a unit of analysis, and the different social, political, cultural and economic fields which are relevant to its development.
- Identification of the main actors within those fields and the distribution of assets and different forms of capital amongst them which characterises power relations.
- Identification of the operative political institutions of government or other social or cultural institutions which might constitute the case study area, specific areas within it, or related overlapping geographic spaces as discrete territorial fields.
- Consideration of how the different fields intersect spatially, which involves tracing the links of development processes to political processes at municipal, state and national levels, and to the spatial development of markets and the broader regional economy.
- Identification and analysis of the social actors, organisations, networks operating in the area, their links to other actors, formation of coalitions, the assets and resources they mobilise, and the influence they may have on local or broader institutions bearing on the area's development, and the ways in which public policies are applied.

Before moving on to consider the research methodology and the process through which the particular case study area was selected, which are discussed in Chapter Four, Chapter Three contextualises the research by providing a summary of the emergence of rural territorial development and related policy approaches in Brazil, and an introduction to the case study area itself and its overall features, based on preliminary analysis of secondary data and findings of the first field visits undertaken.

Chapter 3. CONTEXT: RURAL TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN BRAZIL AND THE JIQUIRIÇÁ VALLEY AS A CASE STUDY AREA

This chapter presents the context of the research. The first part provides an outline of the policy and development context and the emergence of territorial approaches to rural development in Brazil and specifically in the state of Bahia. The second part introduces the case study area, the Jiquiriçá Valley in Bahia, and discusses its characterisation as a rural territory based on the secondary literature and on local actors' perspectives gathered from interviews in the early stages of field research conducted in 2009. This provides the context for Chapters 5, 6 and 7 in which the principle empirical research findings are presented and discussed. The rationale and methods by which the Jiquiriçá valley was selected as the case study area will be discussed in Chapter 4, on Methodology.

3.1 Rural territorial development approaches in Brazil

As discussed in Chapter One, interest in territorial development approaches in Latin America emerged in response to recognition of the changing characteristics and roles of rural areas. These approaches involve a contemporary reappraisal of the role of the state in development of rural areas in order to enable it to engage more effectively with diversity and change in territorial dynamics, involving multiple actors, complex drivers and continuing inter and intra-regional inequalities. Territorial development can be defined as “simultaneous processes of productive and institutional change with the aim of reducing poverty in rural territories” (Schejtman and Berdegúe 2004 p.31), where “territory” is understood as a more or less discretely bounded geographic space which displays a set of common social and economic networks and environmental and cultural features with which its inhabitants identify, elements which can be said to be constitutive of territorial identity.

Since the late 1990s, territorial development approaches have become widely influential in academic research, policy and development practice in Latin America as a whole and in Brazil, in response to the changing social and economic character of rural areas, and influenced by the findings of international rural research and the changing rural development strategies of international development organisations including OECD, FAO, IADB, and IICA. Policy interest in rural territorial development approaches emerged in Brazil from 2000 onwards as ways of modernising public policies and institutional arrangements for planning,

management and service delivery in rural areas (Abramovay 2003, Veiga 2004, Favareto 2007).

In Brazil, as in much of Latin America and indeed in Spain and other European countries, the administrative units of local government are frequently very small, comprising, in rural areas, small urban centres and their immediate rural hinterlands. Although the high degree of decentralisation has in some cases enabled municipalities to direct social expenditure based on local priorities, with some degree of accountability, many are too small, localised and under-developed to support a thriving economy or permit the establishment of adequate municipal administrative and technical management capacity (de Janvry & Sadoulet 2004 and 2007, MDA 2005, Quan 2008, Delgado and Leite 2011). These commentators have argued that the creation of sustainable and inclusive economic opportunities requires an approach based on larger territorial units, with inclusion of rural towns and secondary cities in strategic planning.

Brazil has 26 States which, in total, are divided into more than 5,500 municipalities; the state of Bahia (one of the largest) alone has 416 municipalities (SEI 2005). This plethora of micro-municipalities - often configured around historical patterns of land ownership and political power centred on single or small numbers of interlinked colonial families, has enabled the capture of public development funding by local political elites, often closely associated with established remnant aristocracies and dominant business figures. The fact that most of Brazil's states are very large means that there is no intermediate level of local government corresponding even approximately to economic or natural regions. As a result the larger Brazilian states have developed their own regional divisions for purposes of economic planning and resource allocation by state governments. In most states, including Bahia, these regional divisions closely responded with or were based on a system of designation of *micro-regiões*, utilised by IBGE as spatial units for statistical analysis in the absence of meso-scale administrative units.

Bonnal *et al.* (2011) note that the historical context in which the reappraisal of rural policy has taken place is that of the drastic roll back of the state under neo-liberalism in the 1980s and 90s which has been followed by a contemporary phase that can be described as social or "institutional neo-liberalism", characteristic of the Workers Party (PT Government), elected at the end of 2002, led by President Inacio *Lula* da Silva, which emphasised the proactive role

of the state alongside civil society and the private sector in market regulation. In becoming more proactive, however, the state now has to contend with questions of continuing demographic growth, pressures on natural resources, with the historical legacies of previous phases in terms of poverty, regional and social inequality, and lack of infrastructure in many regions, in addition to the multiplicity of organised actors that has emerged.

Following its election the Lula government initiated a process of policy renewal in 2003, which included renewed attention to the rural areas where poverty was concentrated. During a national consultation process led by The Ministry for Agrarian Development (MDA), the Ministry for Agrarian Development, with rural social movements, organisations forming a significant part of the Workers Party's rural electoral base, demanded more integrated and better coordinated rural policies that combined access to land, credit, technical assistance and better infrastructure and delivery of social, health and educational services, better tailored to the divergent needs of specific areas. Government responded by introducing policies that aimed to improve rural economic opportunities and overcome the relative disconnect of small-scale farmers and growing numbers of land reform settlements from broader development processes and stronger development of agricultural other rural markets. These policies included the somewhat ambitiously labelled *PRONAT*, National Programme for Territorial Development.

Territorial development in Brazil has sought specifically to incorporate organised actors representing small-scale family farmers and agricultural workers as legitimate actors in the policy arena, while addressing the specificities of different rural areas, which policy previously treated as homogenous (Bonnal *et al.* 2011). As Brazilian social movements advocate, the history of dictatorship, social exclusion, and continuing, albeit reducing poverty, requires that citizenship extends beyond universal access to social rights, into the active constitution of social agency, by extending opportunities for participation of formerly excluded groups in shaping public policies and their application. This is something already widely reflected in the emergence of multiple arenas for citizen participation at different levels and in different sectors (Cornwall *et al* 2008). Delgado and Leite (2011, p.94) describe rural territorial development in Brazil as “ a constitutive policy altering the structure of government institutions, with the intention to eliminate party political and oligarchic local interests in decision making, and an emphasis on representation and plurality”. As such, this focus on extending the territorial dimension of broader social enfranchisement is extremely

ambitious, given the high degree of path dependency in the functioning of Brazil's political institutions.

In 2003, with technical assistance from agencies such as IICA and FAO, Brazil's Agrarian Development Ministry (MDA), hitherto responsible for land reform and small-scale rural credit, established a Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) which was to have an integrative role in relation to other MDA policies and programmes, also extending to other sector policies directed towards a similar "public" to that of MDA, *i.e.* small-scale family farmers, land reform settlements and landless rural workers. SDT's approach was to identify and designate clusters of contiguous municipalities in each state as *Territórios de Identidade*, or "identity territories" - geographical spaces with which rural social movements and their constituencies of small-scale farmers, land reform settlers and other poor and marginalised social groups were considered to identify (MDA 2004, Echiverri-Perico 2009). For each of these territories SDT supported the establishment and consolidation of territorial development fora or collegiate bodies (MDA 2004, 2006), referred to as *Colegiados* (or sometimes by their Brazilian acronym, *CODETER*, with a collegiate representative structure involving civil society organisations, local producer association and representatives of local government and state / federal government agencies active in each territory.

Under the policy, a limited numbers of these emerging planning fora were provided with technical support and empowered to draw up priority cross municipal infrastructure and development projects, under the specific PROINFRA budget line managed by SDT. This switched resources away from municipal political control and into the control of collegiate bodies more directly representative of ordinary rural people and operational at a meso-scale, a level at which formal government institutions in Brazil are largely absent. Previously, rural infrastructure projects were exclusively managed by municipalities, and consequently subject to direct control by municipal prefects who were able to use funds to assist private business partners or to generate and secure political loyalties of targeted communities. Nevertheless project priorities agreed by the *Colegiados* still require a formal proponent which must be a recognised government institution legally empowered to receive, contract and disburse Federal funds. The proponents are normally still municipalities, unless projects are submitted by other participating State or Federal agencies, or where *Colegiados* have established legal personality and meet necessary fiscal criteria; as a result projects proposed by civil society still require political support from local government. The new territorial collegiate fora were

also intended to contribute to joint agricultural and food security planning with agencies from different levels of government and to influence the implementation of rural credit, land reforms and other rural investment programmes. Over time they were expected to develop a “Territorial Plan for sustainable Rural Development (PTDRS), articulating a consensual vision and tying together overall priorities for federal and state government support in different sectors with the specific projects proposed for funding for PROINFRA.

The MDA / SDT territorial approach co-existed with a range of other territorially or regionally focused initiatives targeting specific geographical units and groupings of municipalities, which have different objectives and use varying methodologies, according to the different branches of government promoting them (Favareto 2009). To different degrees, they all involve attempts to strengthen social capital, extend participation and improve sectoral planning, by adopting a coherent territorial focus. The progress of MDA’s territorial development programme has now provided a direction around which other Federal and state initiatives can gradually harmonise, and this forms an important context for this PhD research.

3.1.1 Territorial development in Bahia

In its early stages, the development of collegiate territorial fora in Bahia was led by the Federal government during the first 2002-2006 PT government mandate as MDA sought, in collaboration with organised civil society, to identify a set of areas in which to pilot a territorial development programme (Ruiz Olade *et al.* 2007; Athayde 2004, 2007). In parallel, FAO provided assistance to the Bahia state government for a technical re-appraisal of regional development policy, and a survey of existing cross-municipal rural development initiatives (Athayde 2004), as the state sought to accommodate rural development planning to the changing national policy environment. During 2003-04, a Federal Consultation process, led initially in Bahia by INCRA (the Federal land reform institution), engaged rural social movements in debates intended to determine an improved geographical basis for rural development planning. This led to the identification of potential territorial units, based on converging spatial operating spheres of rural public agencies and social movements, and an analysis of agro-ecology, economic geography and distribution of vulnerable social groups (SEI 2004). Twenty-six territories covering the entire state and comprising, on average,

around 16 municipalities, were eventually adopted by MDA / SDT, and a state coordinating body (CET - *Coordenação Estadual dos Territórios*) was established.

Fig. 3.1 Division of the State of Bahia into *Territórios de Identidade* - also showing the number of municipalities and the composite Human Development Index (HDI) for each territory. (Source, SEI based on IBGE 2000 Census data, derived from the HDI for each constituent municipality; Scale 1: 650,000).



Six priority territories in Bahia were selected by MDA for support under a national scale pilot programme for territorial development, based on high levels of “social demand”, understood in terms of the presence of family farming, social movements, land reform settlements and vulnerable social groups. For each territory selected this support involved finance for the employment of a coordinator (referred to in Portuguese as the *Articulador do Territorio*) to facilitate the establishment of a collegiate body, a limited budget to enable the members of the collegiate to meet, and monitoring and backstopping by MDA officials operating at State level. A further four territories were provided with similar assistance by State Government and CEPLAC (the Federal cocoa development agency) in a joint programme also assisted by FAO¹³ (MDA / Governo da Bahia 2005).

During this period emphasis was placed, at national and at state levels, on identifying priority and emergent territories, based on geographically unifying projects, movements and initiatives of different kinds, that had the potential to bring together local actors, including small farmers, local government, the private sector and existing development projects into common frameworks for territorial development focused on productive change and participatory planning. Federal Government statements of territorial development philosophy and policy (MDA 2004) emphasised the process of formation of territories as *an emergent process involving the construction of a shared rural development vision, with which the state could assist, rather than administrative division of space into planning territories*.¹⁴ In the Bahia State Government’s review exercise (Athayde 2004) clusters of municipalities were classified as either pertaining or not pertaining to priority territories already identified by MDA /SDT, or to other priority and potential emergent territories. The classification depended on the existence of a territorial development project or initiative involving different development actors, the extent of engagement by local government and social movements in the process, and the actual development performance of the municipalities involved. The Vale de Jiquiriçá, the case study for this research, was identified as a “potentially emergent territory” (Athayde 2004 p.155).

During Lula’s first term, civil society social movements in Bahia collaborated actively in establishing MDA’s territorial development programme, seeking support to extend their influence over conservative state government policies. Combined organisations in Bahia

¹³ Four territories, including the *Vale de Jiquiriçá* and three neighbouring territories were supported by CEPLAC, and one other territory was later assisted by FAO

¹⁴ Author’s emphasis; not a quotation.

established a State Council for Territorial Development (CET) and identified 26 groupings of municipalities as rural territories, covering the entire state. As a result, and despite the Federal philosophy of gradually extending selective support for territorial development as an emergent process based on unifying territorial projects and development frameworks, following the election of a Workers Party-led State government in Bahia, adopted all 26 potential clusters of municipalities covering the whole of the state as *Territórios de Identidade*, in a new approach to regionalisation. MDA, in a second phase of PRONAT following renewal of the PT's Federal government mandate, agreed to assist a further six priority territories, including those that had been assisted by state government since 2004. To bring social movements from the entire state into the territorial development process, State Government proposed to support the development of functional collegiate fora in its remaining 14 administratively designated rural territories, which included 21 municipalities grouped together in the Jiquiriçá Valley.

The 26 groupings of municipalities identified as *Territórios de Identidade*, provided the basis for a new participatory approach by state government to planning and budgeting for more integrated and accountable management of urban and rural development throughout the state. In 2007, state government resourced a process of popular assemblies in all of these territories and election of delegates to higher level meetings to debate priority investment projects and programmes in all sectors, as part of a newly introduced participatory multi-annual planning process (*PPA Participativo*).

Much of the available policy, populist and academic literature on territorial development in Brazil (see for example MDA 2004, 2005, Eciverri-Perrico 2009) in the decade since the year 2000 was concerned to extol the virtues and potential of the new approach, promoting a break with the past, and projects communitarian / utopian values on to rural society in a changing, post-liberalisation, market context, in which social movements continue to be active, and are linked politically to progressive government. Brazilian rural policies and programmes have borrowed from this thinking and also recruited its proponents to advise and review progress. There has been relatively little published critical analysis, in part because formerly independent social movements and researchers became drawn into collaboration with the Workers Party government, and contracted by Federal or State agencies to assist in implementing or reviewing territorial programmes, defining priorities and refining policy

approaches. The documentary record of experience of territorial development initiatives in Brazil, and evidence relating to their performance and impact is overdue for evaluation. In the absence of more systematic reviews, one of the aims of this doctoral research is to improve understanding of the policy's impacts on local development processes and outcomes, including its effects on the role and effectiveness of its civil society participants.

Brazil's territorial development policies are now the subject of some critique in the Brazilian literature, based on experiences of the experimental territorial development programmes in the first mandate of the Lula government, and their further development and continuity under its second mandate 2007 - 2010. Criticisms of the approaches adopted are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven of this thesis, in relation to the empirical evidence generated by the research. The discussion here is confined to brief consideration of the literature available at the outset, before the field research was undertaken.

Analysis of the achievements of the first 2003 - 2007 phase of MDA's rural territorial development programme identified problems in promoting genuine institutional change, and gaining collaboration of municipal authorities (Quan 2008, Ruiz Olalde *et al.* 2007, Favareto 2006)¹⁵, criticising the programme's sectoral and social bias towards MDA's own constituency of rural social movements and politically allied public agencies, and its failure to engage with other groups. The principal criticism is that although territorial development policy emphasises the importance of institutional change in government to enable participatory and cross-sectoral approaches, and to overcome reliance on and socially unrepresentative municipal leaders whose technical capacity is frequently low, alternative arrangements for implementing rural development projects are not in place. Non-sectoral, participatory territorial institutions have not yet emerged, and centralised, sector policies still play dominant roles. The validity of this criticism in the Jiquiriçá valley, and in Bahia, is one of the themes explored in subsequent chapters.

¹⁵ There is also an unpublished set of papers written by one of Brazil's leading economic sociologist Ricardo Abramovay and others in 2006, which provides a critical review of the early stages of the MDA / SDT territorial development programme, based on a set of case studies in different parts of Brazil. This was commissioned by MDA / SDT as part of a programme evaluation, but was never officially released as it was interpreted as being over-critical and to risk undermining the broader adoption of territorial approaches and reduce the policy space for innovation.

Favareto (2006) refers to territorial development in Brazil as “innovation by addition”: in practice it offers one more approach amongst a pre-existing set of uncoordinated rural interventions from various quarters of government. Although intended to be multi-sectoral in character and to involve stakeholders from all sections of society, including, importantly, local government and private sector, the policy initiative was led by one newly created secretariat within MDA, the Agrarian Development Ministry, and failed to carry support of other sectors of government. Favareto also reviewed the wide range of parallel and independent territorial development policies and initiatives developed by different state sector agencies in Brazil identifying a total of 59 distinct governmental programmes (Favareto 2009). Despite some similarities in intentions, methods and approaches these different initiatives also adopted differing and overlapping geographical territories of operation and in some cases were designed to pursue purely sectoral objectives, albeit at the inter-municipal meso-level, previously missing from sector and central government programming.

In Bahia and across Brazil as a whole, rural territorial development policies coexist with more top-down policy approaches regional planning and spatial development. These include policies for the creation of industrial districts and agro-industrial development poles, and the introduction of city-regional planning approaches centred on selected urban areas. These approaches are influenced by economic geography and professional disciplines of spatial planning and arguably remain more dominant politically than approaches influenced by thinking on agrarian development, social movements and participatory democracy. Bahia’s economic development model of “conservative modernisation” (Barrington Moore Jr. 1966, Pires and Ramos 2009), pursued for some 30 years under successive state governments, and still influential premised on a political pact between industrialists and conservative land owning elites. The strategy focused on attraction of attracting large-scale private industrial investment into Salvador’s surrounding metropolitan regions to generate employment, supported by tax breaks and public investments in infrastructure, and supplemented by investments in developing other regional cities and a small number of agro-industrial development growth poles in more remote rural areas with irrigation potential. As there was no investment in small sale agriculture, improved natural resource management or local enterprise and economic development throughout much of rural Bahia, this model has arguably contributed to prolonging social and economic exclusion by further marginalising

the interstices of the regional urban-agro-industrial economic network or “chassis” of the regional economy (Porto 2003) in the planning process.

In this context, “territorialisation” in Bahia, in Haesbeert’s (2002, 2004) sense of identification with and participation in territorially based economic and civic networks, has occurred largely as a result of the gradual development of transport and communications networks, the growth of small to medium sized rural towns and growing reach of government services. In parallel, in poorer, more remote rural areas, interventions by progressive elements in the Catholic Church have stimulated social organisation of the rural poor, encouraging emergence of local leaders, rural workers’ unions and the land reform movement. Since the end of dictatorship, these social movements have achieved influence over federal policies and greater access to services and resources in favour of the rural poor, also influencing local politics, and today they form the principle social constituency for rural territorial development approaches.

In Brazil, top-down city-regional approaches and participatory rural-territorial approaches to local and regional economic development co-exist and compete. Bahia’s State Secretariat for Urban development promotes a city-regional approach in which urban planning and urban politicians can come to drive development in surrounding areas. Simultaneously Bahia’s State Planning Secretariat (SEPLAN) and the Federal Agrarian Development Ministry (MDA) promote a more bottom-up, rural-centred territorial development approach.

In 2008 Federal Government of an expanded national territorial development programme, known as *Territórios da Cidadania*, which sought to overcome these types of problems through improved sector coordination and harmonisation. This involved coordinated social, economic and infrastructural investment by multiple, federal ministries and programmes, as well as increased technical and management support for local territorial planning in the most disadvantaged rural territories, coordinated by the Presidency. These included the original six MDA supported territories in Bahia, which had already benefited from higher levels of technical support and engagement, and formulated participatory territorial development plans, one of the conditions for accession to the *Territórios da Cidadania* programme. In March 2009 MDA doubled the scale of the new programme, adding a further six territories in Bahia, but not including the Vale de Jiquiriçá. As with *Territórios de Identidade*, no

systematic assessment of the *Territórios da Cidadania* programme are available, although reports of a number of cases suggest that implementation has been slow as they have suffered from similar problems, including bureaucratic delays, limited participation by local government, virtual absence of the private sector and low capacity civil society (Leite and Medeiros 2010, Favareto *et al.* 2012).

Reflecting on the conceptual framework, broad notions of territory have been taken up by policy in Brazil, feeding into the emergence of a variety of territorial development approaches. The concept of territory is used loosely, and ambiguously without defining what is meant, referring simultaneously to areas designated for different types of policy intervention, and to territories understood as socially constructed by social groups and actor networks at different scales. Most usages of the term tend to privilege meso-scale ideas of territory, as constructs of regional populations, and specific ethnic and social groups sharing cultures, histories and traditions, in a context of persistent inter and intra-regional inequalities in which the nation state and the formal political institutions of Brazil as a Federal Union, States and Municipalities, are the dominant territorial – institutional forms. However territories as meso-scale social and political constructs, often partial, incomplete, and involving a multiplicity of intersecting actors and identities, are unlikely to correspond with formal politico-administrative institution and as a result may be lacking in mechanisms for delivery and implementation.

There is a tension in the co-existence of territorial policies and path dependent centralised sector policies, which are better resourced and continue to predominate, as a result of on established bureaucratic and political practice, institutional inertia and vested interests in the status quo (Olalde and Quan 2011). Although territorial policies appear to have gathered considerable popular support and endorsement amongst social movements, they appear so far to have gathered only limited institutional support and to have been under-resourced. As a result of earlier research (Quan 2008), I concluded that Brazil's territorial approach will be unable to address inequality in an integrated way unless effective linkages can be created to programmes for better access to land, skills and markets by the rural poor and establishment of effective collaborative partnerships between small producers and the private sector, for instance in developing value chains for local family farming products. While statistical data on development outcomes and agricultural performance suggests that the Jiquiriçá valley may

already have been performing reasonably well in this regard, any contributions that may have been made by the MDA-led PRONAT programme and its adoption by Bahia's state government requires empirical investigation.

The present research investigates the development dynamics the Jiquiriçá Valley and in this context assesses role, effectiveness and early impacts of the territorial planning forum and related initiatives and the opportunities and constraints for their further development. This particular rural territory was not included in the *Territórios da Cidadania* programme, nor did it benefit from direct support from MDA, and therefore relied on assistance from state government, although it remained eligible to propose projects for PROINFRA funding. The field research undertaken coincided with the unfolding of territorial development policy during the Lula government's 2nd mandate. The difficulties this policy has faced in Bahia, and the broader critiques of territorial development policies in Brazil which have since emerged will be discussed in Chapter 7, through the lens of experience in the Jiquiriçá Valley. The next section of this chapter presents an overview of the Jiquiriçá Valley as the case study area. The research methodology including the process by which the case study area was selected, is detailed in Chapter 4, before presenting the full empirical findings in the subsequent chapters.

3.2 Introduction to the Jiquiriçá Valley as the case study area

This section presents an overview of the principal characteristics and geographical features of the Jiquiriçá valley as the case study area, based on the secondary data available at the outset of the research, the findings of an initial rapid reconnaissance stage of field work and key informant interviews undertaken in early-to- mid 2009. The Jiquiriçá valley includes one of the few clusters of municipalities in the region which, based on interpretation of national census data, exhibits common trends for growth, combined with poverty reduction and inequality. It is also a region designated by government as a "*Território de Identidade*" or identity territory, for the purposes of promotion of participatory planning and management of rural infrastructure budgets under MDA's *Proinfra* programme.

Here I summarise the valley's historical development and its environmental, agro-ecological, socio-economic and urban-rural demographic characteristics; these provided a basis for the initial interpretation of secondary data, definition of field itineraries for the first stage of field

research and continuing development of the methodology, leading to selection of a specific group of municipalities within the valley for more in-depth investigation. A brief characterisation is provided of a number of relatively distinct sub-regions with differing environment characteristics and centred on different local towns, based on field observations and available the secondary data. Actors' perceptions of territorial identity within the valley are also considered, based on initial interviews undertaken.

3.2.1 Overview of the Jiquiriçá valley

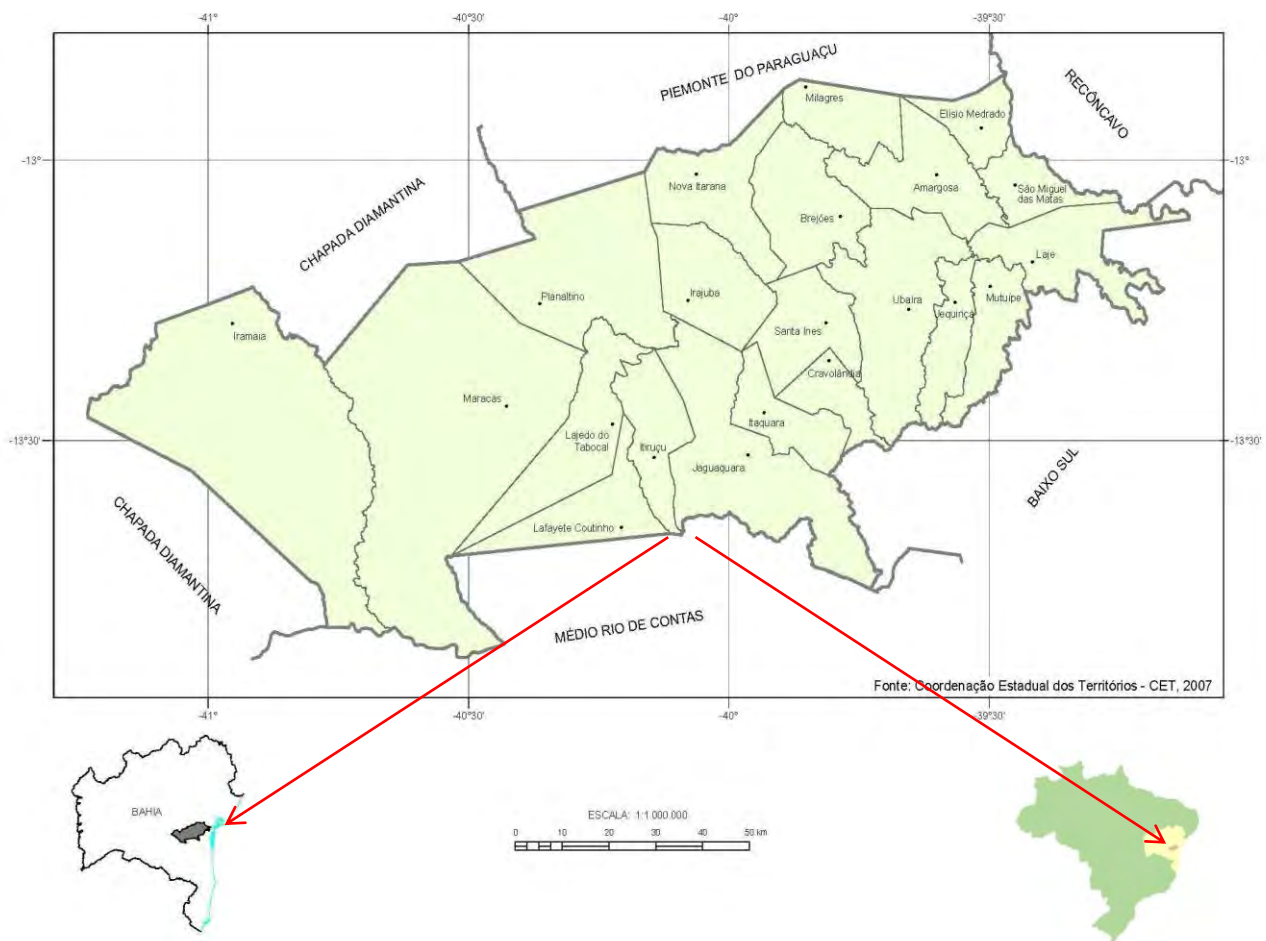
The Jiquiriçá valley is a river basin in central Bahia, approximately 240km from the State capital Salvador. The middle and upper valleys together form one of 26 groupings of municipalities in Bahia designated by the State and Federal governments as a *Território de Identidade*, regions considered by government following a national process of consultation with rural civil society organisations to have a broadly shared social identity, and good potential for enhanced participation of civil society in territorial development processes to establish greater social accountability in policy and planning with the aim of increasing benefits for the rural and urban poor (MDA 2004, 2005b).

The population headcount of the valley was 317,053 in 2000 (IBGE 2000 Census) of which 53.7% lived in urban areas. In 2010 the valley's population was found to have declined to 313, 672 and to be 60% urbanised (IPEA 2013, based on IBGE 2010 Census data). Agriculture is the principle source of income and livelihoods, and approximately 100,000 or one third of the population depend directly on family farming (Olalde *et al.* 2007).

When the field research was conducted, the Jiquiriçá Valley *Território de Identidade* comprised 21 municipalities¹⁶, and covered 12,462 km². The Municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley and its location in the state of Bahia is shown in Figure 3.2, overleaf. The relationship of the Jiquiriçá river basin to the Jiquiriçá Valley territory is shown in Figure 3.3 on the subsequent page.

¹⁶ 21 Municipalities when the field research was undertaken. In late 2011 (or early 2012) Iramaia municipality in the far West of the region, which does not form part of the Jiquiriçá river watershed and never identified with the remainder of the Jiquiriçá valley territory was eventually incorporated into the neighbouring territory of *Chapada Diamantina*.

Fig. 3.2 Municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley, showing neighbouring *Territórios de Identidade* and the Valley's location in the State of Bahia and in Brazil (Source: SEI / CET 2007; this version showing location in Brazil prepared by the author; Scale 1:1,000,000)

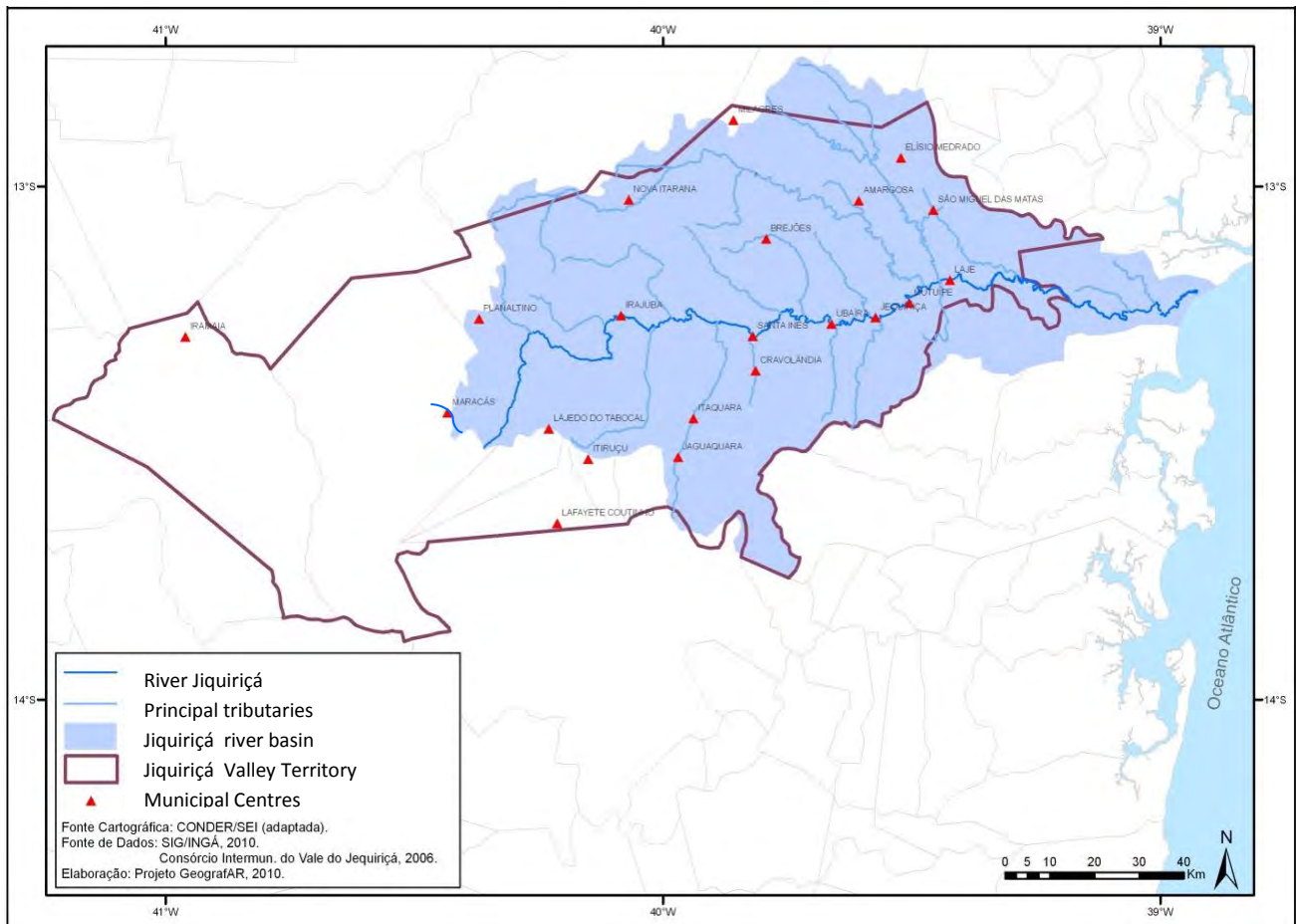


The valley is extremely diverse agro-ecologically, including distinct tropical forest and semi-arid zones separated by an intermediate transition belt. It produces a great variety of crops, on small to medium scale family farms and larger estates. However the service sector (including both public services and commercial trade) now makes the greatest contribution to economic activity and to formal employment. The valley today is considered in IBGE's classification¹⁷ to be moderately urbanised (with a number of small towns and three medium sized urban

¹⁷ IBGE, the Brazilian national statistics agency, classifies "micro-regions" – large areas of Brazilian states designated as regions based on economic and ecological characteristics – as rural, moderately urbanised or highly urbanised according to their average population densities. The Jiquiriçá valley falls into a region with medium density as a result of the presence of large towns and a relatively dense network of smaller towns.

centres), relatively close to Salvador and other urban centres of the Recôncavo region¹⁸, but with a significant dispersed rural population which predominates in the higher rainfall, agriculturally more productive municipalities.

Fig. 3.3 Relationship of the Jiquiriçá Valley *Território de Identidade* to the Jiquiriçá river basin (Sources: Base map - CONDER / SEI; data – SIG/INGA 2010 & CIVJ 2006; map prepared by Projeto GeografAR, Geosciences Faculty, UFBA, 2010)



The Jiquiriçá valley’s emergence as a population and production centre can be interpreted from the point of view of economic geography as resulting from geographical factors, notably its natural advantages of agro-climatic suitability for production of agricultural goods and raw materials, and its proximity to the coast and to growing regional markets led to its development as a centre for production of a series of cash crops. As the valley was settled

¹⁸ The region known as the Recôncavo in Brazil is the concave shaped hinterland of the *Baía de Todos os Santos* (All Saints’ Bay) in Bahia, the first part of Brazil to be colonised. The Jiquiriçá valley lies to the interior of the southern part of the Recôncavo and is adjacent to it. Hydrologically, the valley is considered to be part of a larger region comprising several separate rivers and their immediate watersheds, sometimes referred to as the *Bacia do Recôncavo Sul* (southern Recôncavo Basin).

and gradually developed other economic factors, considered important by “new” economic geography (Krugman 1995), are also relevant to the valley’s historical development, including the establishment and evolution of property rights, the agglomeration of different farming enterprises devoted to the main cash crops based on common natural resource conditions and access to transport infrastructure, and overspill of the slave plantation model established in the neighbouring *Recôncavo* region surrounding the *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, well located to provide the rapidly expanding export markets on which Brazil’s prosperity was initially built.

The valley was first colonised as part of a military transit route connecting the coastal *Recôncavo* region with the *Chapada Diamantina* in the interior and the vast, semi-arid *Sertão* beyond, and became a centre of cattle production to supply the army with meat (Nascimento 2007). Access was facilitated by the navigable Jiquiriçá river and settlement began in the neighbourhood of Ubaíra, the valley’s central historical town. Early colonising families were granted rights over large areas and established sugar estates in the valley at Ubaíra, leading to settlement of neighbouring areas by other well-connected families and sales of smaller estates to new settlers. At the end of the 19th Century the entire *Recôncavo* region underwent transformation following the collapse of the plantation economy that resulting from global overproduction of sugar, and the end of slavery in 1888. The end of slavery triggered a process of rapid urban population growth in Salvador and the surrounding region, accompanied by the growth of industries and services reliant on former slave labour, emergence of expanding urban markets for food crops and raw materials, and migration of former slaves to the interior in search of employment. The growth of infrastructure facilitated agglomeration of farm enterprises and the growth of trade networks, in the region. In the Jiquiriçá Valley, the navigable river facilitated settlement, trade and the establishment of small urban centres, later connected by investments in transport infrastructure (first rail, then road) which further assisted the development of trade networks and social links in the river valley area.

Following the end of slavery the Jiquiriçá valley became an important centre for commercial production of foodstuffs, notably cassava, together with meat to supply expanding and urban regional markets of Salvador and neighbouring towns in the *Recôncavo*. It was also a centre for commercial production of tobacco for export markets (cassava and tobacco were the principle crops grown by the indigenous Amerindian population and colonisers recognised

the potential for expansion of these). Freed slaves provided a source of labour for forest clearance, while new farming opportunities and demands for farm labour led to additional immigration. Whereas the best land in the river valley itself was cleared to create cattle ranches, smaller farming settlements were established in more remote upland areas for tobacco, cassava and mixed subsistence crops. Brazil's underwent a boom in production of coffee for export markets in the early 20th century, and as a result coffee was introduced into suitable regions of Bahia, including upland areas of the middle and upper Jiquiriçá valley. Coffee and other cash crops were grown on established colonial estates but also by growing numbers of small farmers including former slaves and new immigrants who became established in the valley, supplying additional produce to the elite colonial families who came to dominate land ownership and trade.

The coffee trade, together with the transport of a wide variety of other goods and of people throughout the valley was one of the principle reasons for establishment of a commercial railway in the valley, from 1906 onwards, linking the *Recôncavo* region to the inland regional centre of Jequié, to the Southeast. At the turn of the 19th century, the railway initially connected Nazaré in Recôncavo region to the town of Amargosa in the Northeast of the Jiquiriçá valley, enabling bulk export of agricultural produce. A westwards branch alongside the Jiquiriçá river, turning south to the town of Jaguaquara was built in 1906 (de Jesus 2007), and on to Jequié. The opening up of the centre and upper valley created opportunities for production of coffee at higher altitudes, and for sisal and castor combined with cattle-raising in the river basin's semi-arid north-western portion. Rail halts for loading produce provided nuclei for urban settlements which came to form a chain of small towns along the length of the valley, linked to smaller outlying production centres. Gradually during the 20th Century, each town established its own municipal government of, and small urban service economies emerged.

The relative ease of land clearance in less forested areas, land suitability for extensive cattle-raising, profitability of coffee as an estate crop and availability of cheap labour all contributed to the high concentration of land ownership that characterises these parts of the valley. A more equitable land holding structure emerged in the lower valley, facilitated by the presence of the larger labour force required for clearance of tropical forest, which in turn stimulated the gradual development of smaller family farms supplying the needs of emerging local towns.

Since the mid- 20th Century, following a series of crises affecting the coffee industry, cocoa became established in the forested eastern lower valley, together with a variety of tropical fruit crops, similarly produced by a wide variety of smaller, medium and larger scale producers. This portion of the Jiquiriçá valley today serves as a secondary production centre for the cocoa processing and export industries located in the south of Bahia. Although essentially subordinate as raw material suppliers to the demands and requirements of the regional and global cocoa market, this area's relatively intensive family farming systems, in which cocoa plays a central role as a perennial cash crop, have proved relatively resilient and sustainable. Despite the presence of a destructive fungal cocoa disease known as *Vasoura da bruxa* or Witches Broom (*Moniliophthora perniciosa*), which had a serious impact on large-scale cocoa monoculture in the South of Bahia, in the Jiquirica Valley cocoa has continued to expand alongside other crops within multi storey agroforestry systems also contributing to the restoration and maintenance of vegetation cover. In 1995 / 96 the family sector contributed 51% of agricultural production in the Vale de Jiquiriçá on around 30% of its agricultural area, despite a lack of policy support for small-scale farming at the time (Olalde *et al.* 2007).

The Jiquiriçá river basin occupies four distinct natural or phyto-ecological regions, of which three are represented within the *Territorio de Identidade*, a region comprised largely of undulating hills and deep valleys, presenting a wide range of climatic variation and rainfall within a relatively small space: coastal vegetation formations including mangrove and pioneer forest in the estuarine zone, falling outside the territory; the ombrophilous tropical forest belt of the lower Jiquiriçá valley, containing fragments of Atlantic Forest (*Mata Atlântica*), principally confined to the hilltops; *caatinga* or dry forest in the semi-arid zone of the upper Jiquiriçá, at altitudes above 1,000 metres; and a transitional area of formerly dense deciduous forest, now substantially transformed by human activity and subject to transformation into vegetation types more typical of the semi-arid region. Broadly speaking the valley exhibits a pronounced gradient in rainfall levels which fall-off from Southeast to Northwest, but with considerable variations according to altitude, resulting in the presence of a wide range of localised micro-climates and agro-ecological niches, varying widely in water availability, temperature and natural vegetation, also influenced by variations in soil types. The semi-arid region in the northern and northeastern parts of the Jiquiriçá basin has an irregular rainfall pattern and intermittent watercourses that are subject to drought, although the higher altitude upland plateaus receive more rain and are able to grow a wider range of

crops. The transitional zone has two distinct rainy and dry seasons and the Atlantic forest zone has a hot humid tropical climate with no distinct dry season.

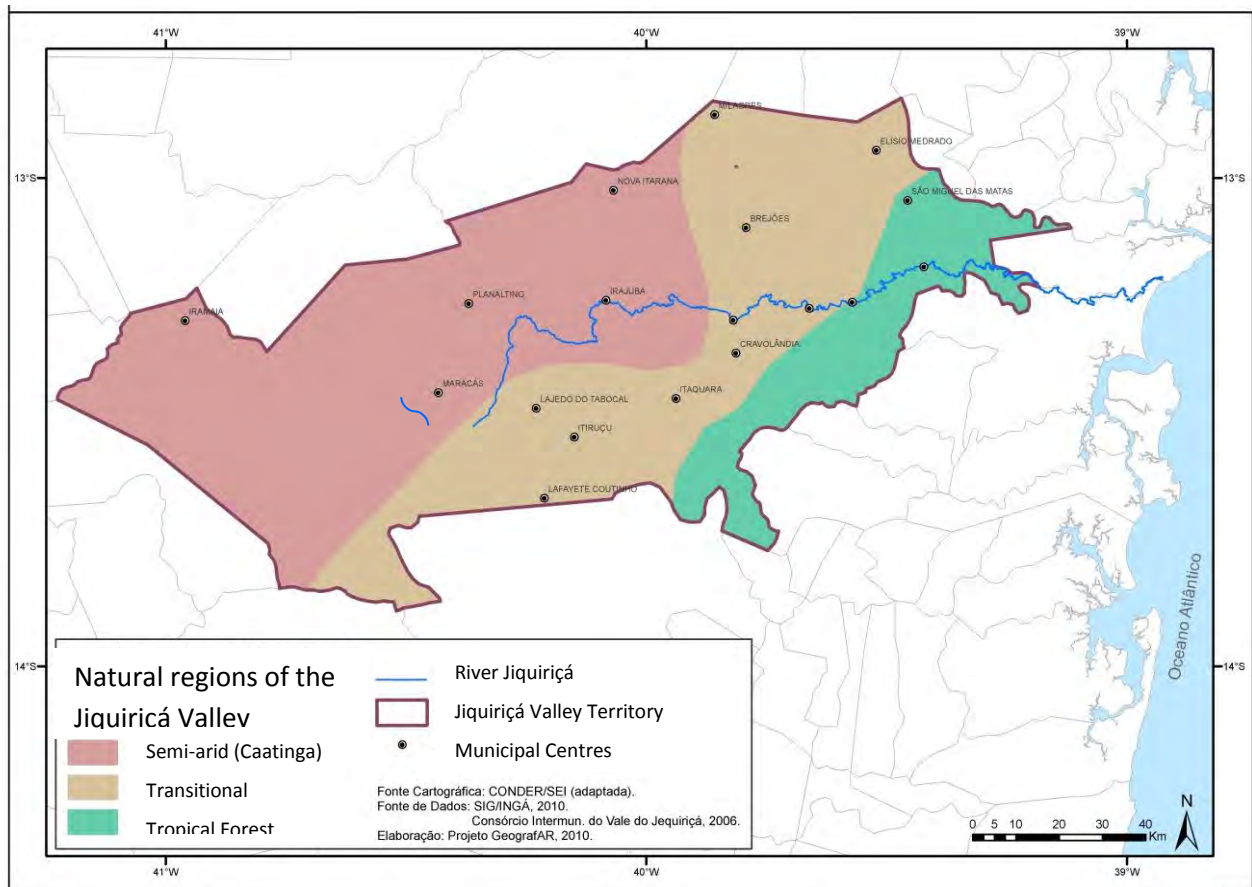
Table 3.1, below, summarises the principle characteristics of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territory's different natural phyto-ecological sub-regions. The table also includes, in the last two rows, the principle social features of these different sub-regions, as established during the research. The approximate spatial configuration of these different natural sub-regions, is then shown in Figure 3.4 on the next page.

Table 3.1 Principal characteristics of the Jiquiriçá valley's different natural regions

Features	Forest zone	Transitional zone	Semi-arid zone
Rainfall	High	Medium	Low
Natural vegetation	Atlantic forest (evergreen and semi-deciduous) Primary high forest remnants and degraded secondary forest	Semi-deciduous and deciduous forest/ moist savanna woodland; degraded pasture and secondary forest	<i>Caatinga</i> / dry savanna woodland; degraded pasture and rangeland
Principle crops and land use systems	Cocoa, bananas, cassava, tropical tree and fruit crops, sugar.	Mixed farming: Coffee, cattle, cassava; commercial horticulture; maize and beans	Cattle, goats, sisal. Formerly castor, cotton and palm fibre; charcoal extraction
Agrarian structure	Predominance of small and very small farms, few large land holdings	Mixed farm sizes; medium sized holdings predominate.	Small numbers of large estates with few small farms; high land concentration
Rural population ¹⁹	High (55 – 75%)	Lower (25– 50%)	Very low (1-35%)
Poverty	Lower –access to land and markets by small-scale farmers enables regular farm incomes	Mixed; high unemployment in former coffee producing areas with high land inequality	High; high urban employment and reliance on welfare payments as a result of collapse of historical cash crops and poor access to land
Cultural aspects	<i>Bahiano</i> ; people of Afro-Brazilian origin, indigenous influences and diverse European migrants; colonisation via Recôncavo	Mixed; notable influence of Italian immigration, amongst other Europeans; colonisation via Recôncavo	<i>Sertanejo</i> , mixed European and indigenous origins, with some Afro-Brazilian influence colonisation via <i>Sertão</i> / <i>Chapada</i>
Social movements and coalitions networks	Relatively strong: presence of an active, FETRAF-affiliated rural union movement with strong influence on municipal politics, some strong community organizations.	Presence of rural unions affiliated to FETAG and FETRAF in different cases, with municipal influence. Community organisation weak and tends to be dominated by municipal prefects.	Presence and influence of FETAG - linked rural unions mainly focused on land reform. Community organisation generally weak, but well-supported by local government in some locations.

¹⁹ The range of figures used to indicate levels of rural population are derived from the proportions of municipal population recorded as living in rural areas in the 2010 IBGE census, according to the phyto-ecological zone that each one wholly or largely falls within.

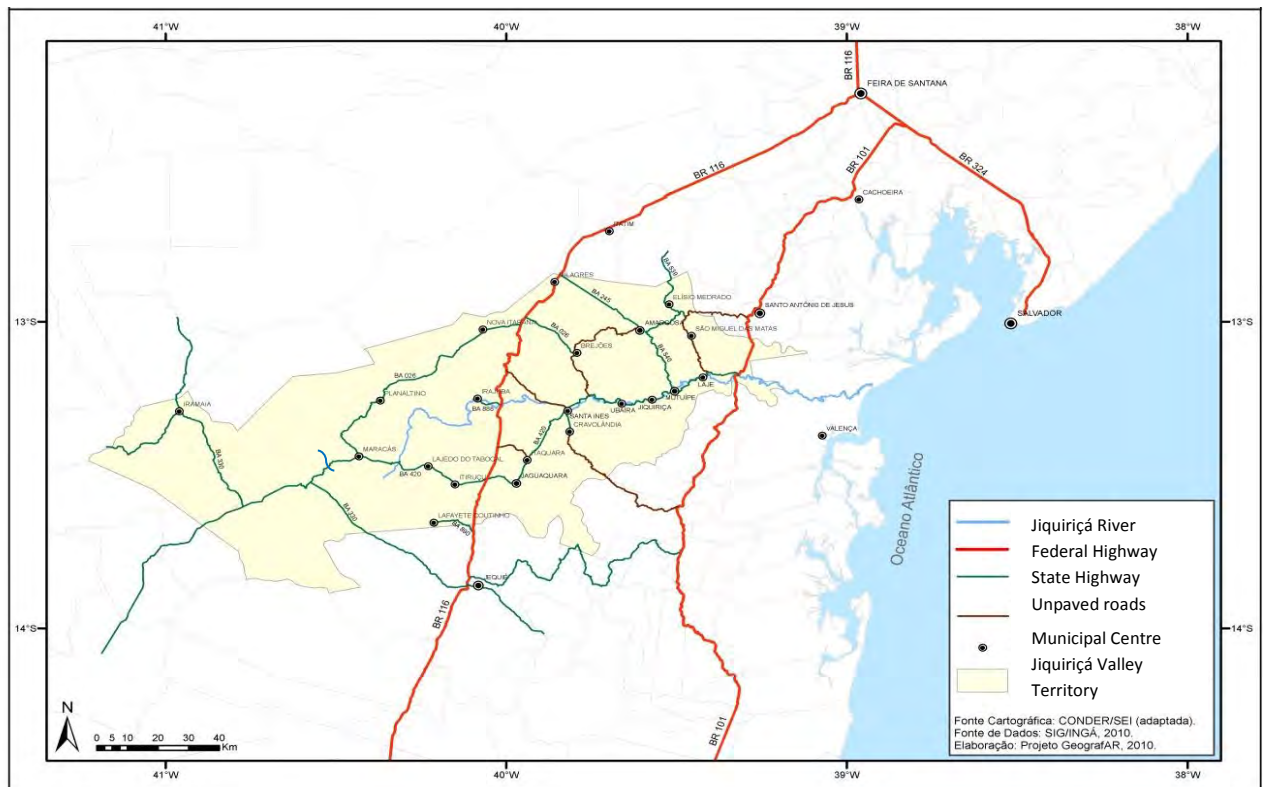
Figure 3.4 Natural regions of the Jiquiriçá Valley *Território de Identidade* (Sources: Base map - CONDER / SEI; Data – SIG/INGA 2010 & CIVJ 2006; map prepared by Projeto GeografAR, Geosciences Faculty, UFBA, 2010)



The Jiquiriçá valley is crossed by two major national highways, BR101 passing through the southern portion of the valley near Laje and passing close to Jaguaquara before leading to Jequié, and BR115 running across the valley's upland northern portion connecting Salvador and the towns of the Recôncavo to other urban centres in the interior of Bahia to the west and northwest and to the South. In both case these are larger than the main roadway BR142 following the course of the river and the former railway line which connects the valley's central municipal towns to one another, formerly maintained by State government and now adopted as a national highway. Except for the municipal towns directly served by these roads, urban and rural residents' access to major urban centres depends on transport on secondary roads, in many cases unimproved non-asphalt roads with transit difficulties in the rainy season. As a result rural communities not within easy reach of the main roads remain relatively isolated. Figure 3.5 shows the network of principal paved and unpaved roads connecting the municipal centres of the Jiquiriçá Valley, and the two major national

highways, BR101 and BR116 bisect it and connecting it to the main regional urban centres Santo Antonio de Jesus to the East, and Jequié to the South.

Fig 3.5 Road network of the Jiquiriçá Valley, showing major regional highways and links to regional cities (Sources: Base map - CONDER / SEI; data – SIG/INGA 2010 and Google maps; Map prepared by Projeto GeografAR, Geosciences Faculty, UFBA, 2010)



3.2.2 Development trends

The Jiquiriçá Valley grew in terms population and economic activity throughout the 20th Century, although with some variation across municipalities as a result of changing market conditions and periodic localised crises resulting from boom and bust cycles for the major cash crops on which different parts of the valley largely depended. Nevertheless the valley made progress in poverty reduction and improvements in human development during the latter part of the 20th century, progress that has broadly continued in recent years.

The valley was selected as a case study area through a process described fully in Chapter Four. Following a national mapping exercise commissioned by the RTD program (Favareto and Abramovay 2009), it was identified as one of a group of three territories in Bahia found to contain clusters of contiguous municipalities displaying positive development trends combining economic growth, and reductions in poverty and inequality, based on analysis of 1991 – 2000 trends in census data for average income levels, poverty, and equality, measured by changes in the *Gini* co-efficient for incomes. As such the Valley conformed well to the criteria adopted by the RTD programme which selected case-studies based on indicators of positive changes in economic growth, poverty reduction and levels of equality or social inclusion in exploring the coincidence of factors that lead to these successful in development outcome. In the decade up to 2000, eleven of the 21 municipalities falling into the government designated Jiquiriçá Valley *Território de Identidade* grew while reducing poverty and income inequality; a further five municipalities grew while reducing poverty, although income inequality increased. Geographically, the municipalities showing positive changes in all three of the selected census indicators are clustered to the east of the valley in its eastern forest zone, but a number of adjacent municipalities in transitional regions and the some of the predominantly semi- arid municipalities of Santa Inês, Irajuba and Planaltino, also showed the same positive trends. The Jiquiriçá valley thus offered the opportunity to investigate the development dynamics lying behind the data, the continuing development trends since 2000, and whether or not the concentration of municipalities showing “win -win-win” outcomes in fact reflects a common virtuous dynamic combining growth with social inclusion.

Table 3.2, overleaf, shows the combinations of positive or negative movements recorded in the three selected census indicators of the valley in the 1991 – 2000 period together with municipal population figures for 2000 and 2010, indication of the rural-urban population balance, and overall environmental characteristics for each Municipality. As can be observed in Table 3.2, the population size of the municipalities varies considerably, and eight municipalities can be considered small with populations of less than 10,000 in 2000. The municipalities with the largest populations, Jaguaquara, Maracas and Amargosa, are those with the largest towns in the valley, and the populations are largely urbanised. Population are also relatively high in Mutuípe, Ubaíra, Laje and Jiquiriçá, municipalities falling into the forest belt (except for Ubaíra which falls into both forest and transitional zones) with large numbers of small-scale farmers, where the population balance is more rural.

Table 3.2 Municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley, changes in development indicators (1991-2000), and population (2000-2010) and general characteristics (source: IBGE census 1991, 2000 and 2010).

Municipalities	Changes in development indicators 1991 – 2000*	Population (2000)	Population (2010)	Environmental characteristics	Urban / rural population balance **
Amargosa	+ / + / +	31,108	34,351	Forest	Urban
Brejoes	+ / + / +	15,344	14,282	Transition	Rural-urban
Cravolândia	+ / + / +	5,001	5,041	Transition / Forest	Urban
Elisio Medrado	+ / + / +	7,860	7,947	Forest	Rural
Irajuba	+ / + / +	6,362	7,002	Semi-arid	Rural-urban
Iramaia	- / + / +	17,553	11,990	Semi-arid	Rural-urban
Itaquara	+ / + / +	7,861	7,678	Transition	Urban
Itiruçu	+ / + / -	13,538	12,693	Transition	Urban
Jaguaquara	+ / - / -	46,621	51,011	Transition	Urban
Jiquiriçá	+ / + / +	13,638	14,118	Forest	Rural
Lafayette Coutinho	+ / + / -	4,102	3,901	Transition	Rural-urban
Laje	- / + / +	19,601	22,201	Forest	Rural
Lajedo de Tabocal	+ / + / -	8,100	8,305	Transition / Semi-arid	Urban
Maracás	- / - / -	31,638	24,613	Semi-arid	Urban
Milagres	- / + / +	12,067	10,306	Semi-arid	Urban
Mutuípe	+ / + / -	20,462	21,449	Forest	Rural-urban
Nova Itarana	+ / + / -	6,592	7,435	Semi-arid	Rural
Planaltino	+ / + / +	7,963	8,822	Semi-arid	Rural
Santa Inês	+ / + / +	11,027	10,363	Semi-arid / transition	Urban
Sao Miguel d Matas	+ / + / +	10,020	10,414	Forest	Rural
Ubaíra	+ / + / +	20,595	19,750	Forest / Transition	Rural
OVERALL PICTURE	+ / + / + (11 cases) + / + / - (5 cases)	317,053	313,672	Forest / Transition / semi-arid	Urban

Notes on Table 3.2:

* “+” indicates positive change in the following indicators recorded in IBGE national censuses in 1991 and 2000: a) increase in average per capita incomes (as a proxy for growth) b) reduction in incidence of poverty, and c) reductions in *Gini* index for incomes (as a measure of inequality) “+++” indicates a positive change in all three indicators as a means of identifying municipalities displaying growth with social inclusion. “-” indicates negative changes in the same indicators.

** Urban/ rural balance: Municipalities with over 55% urban population in 2000 were considered to be primarily urban; those with over 55% rural population were considered to be rural; those in between are indicated as rural-urban.

The 2010 census data were not available until after the field research was complete and data analysis was well underway. When the 2010 figures for population, average incomes, poverty levels and Gini coefficient for incomes became available, they presented a somewhat different picture, in which all municipalities had grown and reduced poverty since 2000, but a lesser number, and in some cases different ones, had reduced inequalities. The population of the valley underwent a slight decline from 2000 to 2010, a trend most pronounced in the larger semi-arid municipalities, and the rural-urban population balance also changed as more people moved to the towns²⁰. In order to gain a broader picture of the development trends changes in the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) from 1991 to 2000 were also considered, reflecting levels of education, longevity and access to health care. The HDI for the different municipalities also showed positive improvements in the same period. The eastern forest belt municipalities also had higher scores in terms of the UN Human Development Index in 2000, although some transitional region municipalities also scored highly, and most of the municipalities in the west of the valley also showed improvements in HDI, although they did not all exhibit positive combinations of change in growth, poverty levels and inequality in the same period. Some municipalities, such as Iramaia, Maracás, and Milagres experienced negative changes in average income levels, and in two cases, Maracás and Jaguaquara, poverty appears to have increased. Figure 3.6 (overleaf) and Table 3.2 (above) both show this picture of broadly positive changes in development outcomes at the outset of the research, when the changes in these indicators between 1991 and 2000 were the latest figures available with which to examine municipal trends for identification of potential case study sites.

The probable reasons for the changing patterns of these development indicators in the 1991-2000 and 2000 – 2010 decades are discussed in Chapter Five, which explores the economic development trends in different parts of the valley in more depth based on analysis of a wide range of primary and secondary data collected in the course of the research.

²⁰ Comparison of IBGE population data for 2000 and 2010 shows that populations declined by several thousands in the large semi-arid municipalities of Iramaia, Maracás, by around a thousand in Milagres, Brejões and Santa Inês, and by several hundred in Itaquara, Itiruçu and Lafayette Coutinho municipalities. Elsewhere populations grew slightly. The factors involved in population decline in the Jiquiriçá Valley are discussed in Chapter Five.

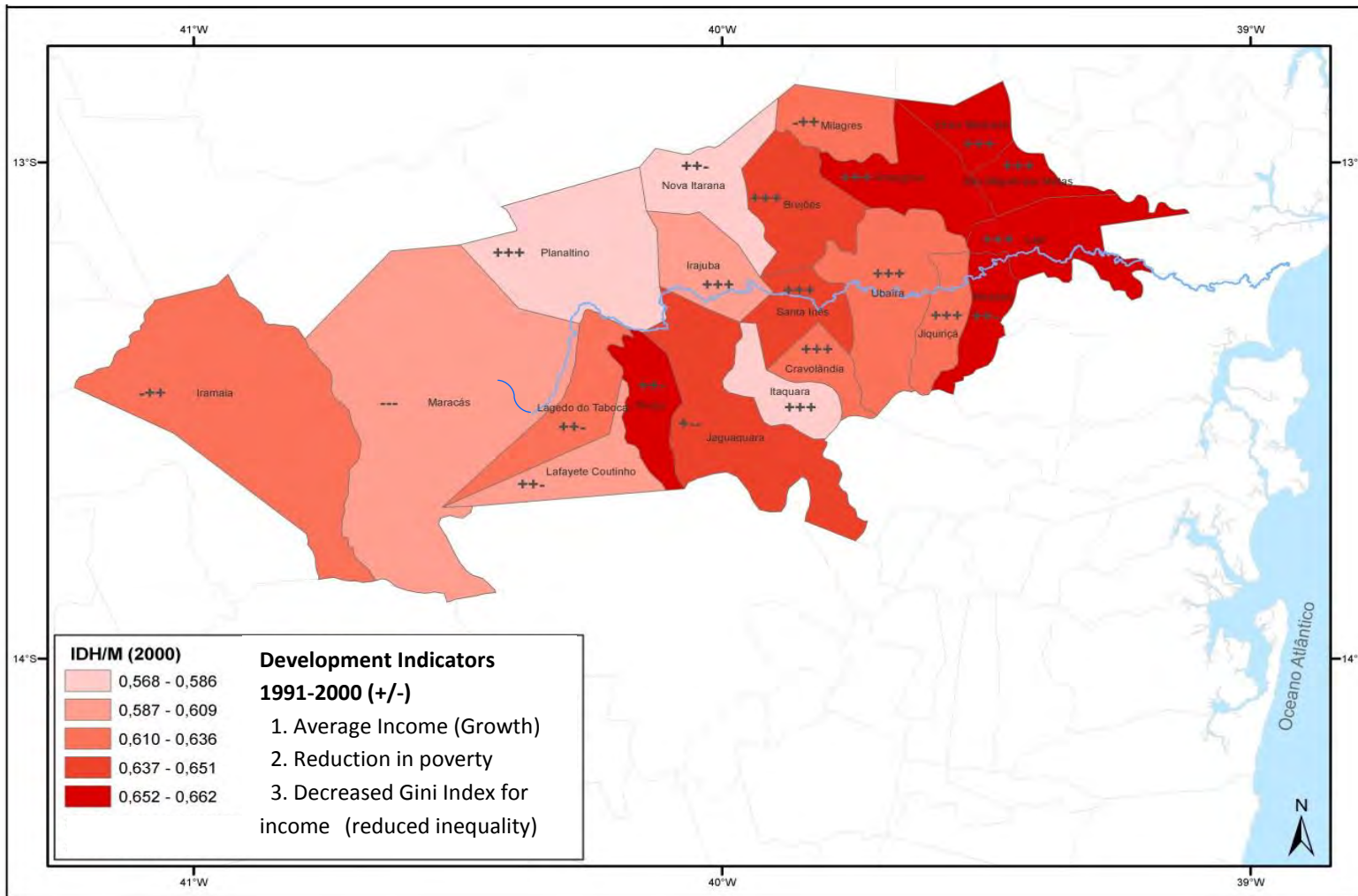
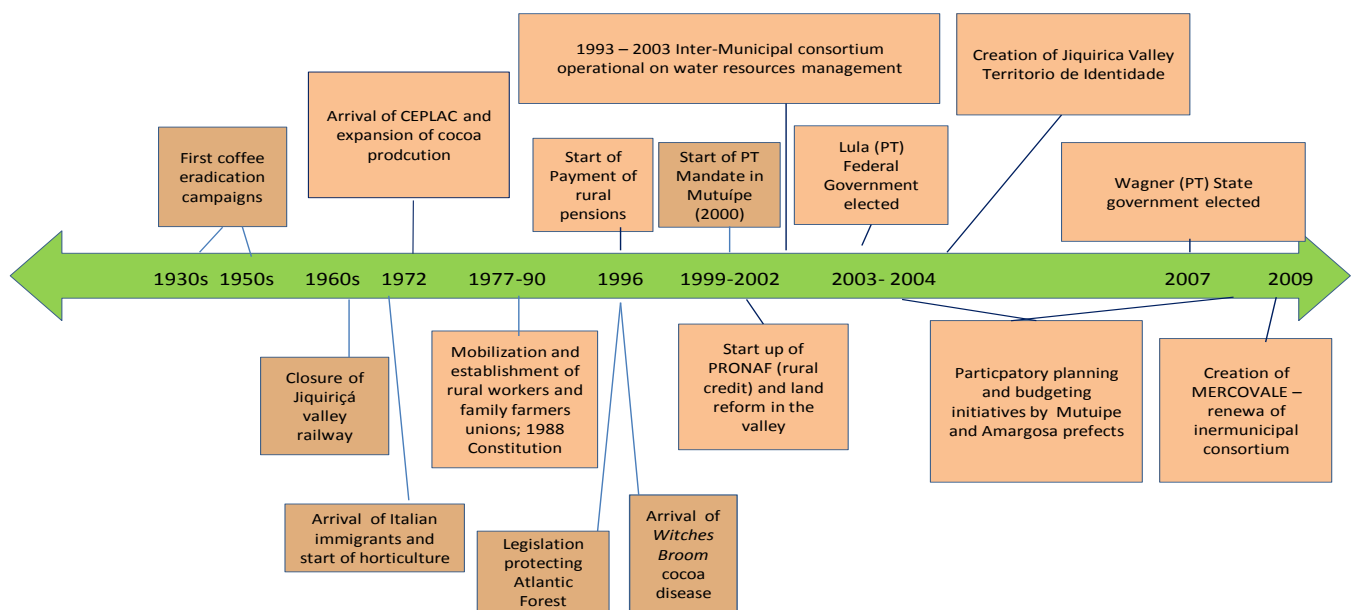


Fig 3.6 Changes in development indicators 1991 -2000 and Human Development Index (2000) for Municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley (Sources: Base map - CONDER / SEI; Data – IBGE 1991 and 2000 Census and UNDP Human Development Atlas 2000 for Brazil; map prepared by Projeto GeografAR, Geosciences Faculty, UFBA, 2010)

In parallel with analysis of available literature and secondary data for the municipalities comprising the *Territorio de Identidade*, the field research began with a series of visits to the principal towns, sub –regions and associated rural areas, to gain an overview of the valley and conduct semi structured interviews with farmers and with development actors in local government and civil society. The interviews enquired into informants’ perceptions of territorial identity, key events in the valley’s recent history, and its overall development trends enabled construction of an initial composite timeline of events and periods in the valley’s development (Fig. 3.7 below). These events and their impacts are discussed further in subsequent chapters.

Fig. 3.7 Time line of key events in development of the Jiquiriçá valley during the 20th century, as identified by local actors



The field reconnaissance and interviews results and locally available literature also enabled assessment of the valley’s cultural features and practices, and the territorial frames of reference of informants in different locations. These initial findings are discussed in the next section below, and form an important part of the overall characterisation of the Jiquiriçá Valley as the case study area.

3.2.3 Cultural identity and territorial diversity

As discussed in Chapter Two, socio-cultural identification with geographic space is an important feature of territoriality, and symbolic practices and informal social institutions, while also subject to the influence of broader socio-cultural networks, can be constitutive of territorial identity, even in the absence of politic-administrative territorial institutions. In practice, cultural identities and practices were found to have much in common with those prevalent throughout the interior of Bahia and elsewhere in Northeast Brazil, and also with the more Afro-Brazilian culture of coastal Bahia.

The rural areas of the Jiquiriçá valley are home to a range of traditional cultural practices derived from Afro-Brazilian and indigenous cultures, including the presence of *terreiros* or temples of *candomblé* (Afro-Brazilian religion), groups which practice the dance-based martial art of capoeira, songs and dances of *samba da roda* and *maculelê*, and other traditions more typical of the semi-arid Sertão, such as *rezadeiras*, leaders of popular prayers and local pilgrimages, *sanfona* (concertina) players and *trios nordestinos* playing popular folk music, as well as different traditional crafts and local literary forms. Although the variants of these traditions encountered may be location specific, they have much in common with traditional Afro-Bahian culture, on the one hand, and the culture of the Sertão on the other. It is not really possible to identify specifically local practices peculiar to the valley, testament to the diversity of its cultural origins and mobility and mixing of the diverse people's whose descendants comprise the population today. Perhaps the valley's uniqueness and distinguishing territorial identity lies in its sheer diversity comprising groups of afro-brasilian, *sertanejo* and diverse European origins within a relatively confined geographical area. Broadly speaking the cultural and racial origins of the population reflect different origins moving from East to West, with an observable predominance of black and mixed race people of Afro-Brazilian origin in the east and people with features more typical of the Sertão in the west, but with different European groups originating mainly in Spain, Galicia, Italy, and Portugal settling in different locations and especially in the middle valley. At the time of writing a handful of isolated *quilombolas* (afro-descendent communities originating in groups of runaway slaves) had been identified in Milagres and Itaquara municipalities and during fieldwork a number of isolated and almost exclusively black communities not formally identified as *quilombolas* were identified in upland locations in Mutuípe and Sao Miguel das Matas

Despite the presence of common factors of cultural and social identity across the different municipalities in the valley, the field reconnaissance and initial informant interviews confirmed the diversity of the valley's development patterns, revealing that different clusters of municipalities with linkages to different towns inside and outside of the valley provided different territorial frames of references for "the Valley" in different locations. Divergent tendencies can also be observed, resulting apparently from geographic distance, natural and landscape diversity, specific local histories and rivalries between dominant families and municipalities, and proximity and strength of connections with neighbouring municipalities, and urban development poles outside of the valley, such as Jequié and Santo Antônio de Jesus.

There was a strong tendency for people from the municipalities of Laje, Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá and Ubaira to identify with one another, and also to some extent with people from Amargosa, Elisio Medrado e São Miguel das Matas, but there was also a tendency to consider these three municipalities as more closely integrated with the southern Recôncavo region. These differences relate to their geographic location away from the centre of the valley and the river itself, and differences in the dominant and traditional agricultural crops, with cocoa dominating in the municipalities closer to the river and cassava and bananas in the others. In the eastern part of the valley, various informants considered that inter-municipal linkages and coordination were strongest within the area extending from Laje in the east to Santa Ines in the central part of the valley, or in some cases as far as Jaguaquara. Jaguaquara was considered by some to be a regional pole for the valley's transition zone, as a result of its role as a market centre for fruit and vegetable produce. The municipalities in the west of the valley, including Maracás, Planaltino, Itiruçu, Lajedo de Tabocal, Lafayette Coutinho e Iramaia all appeared to have more contact with one another than with municipalities in the east of the valley. Those in the centre had contacts with adjacent municipalities in both forest and semi-arid zones. In summary there appear to be a variety of sub-regional geographical axes of development in the valley, resulting from specific economic activities, histories of settlement, means of communication and urban centres.

During the reconnaissance visits, local actors, including government officials, traders and farmers of both sexes and different social and racial backgrounds, were asked to describe their perceptions of the regions constituted the Jiquiriçá valley and their own sense of territorial identity. Although many people clearly identified with "the valley" and some cited

unifying factors, including policy-led attempts to develop territorial institutions, informants as a whole displayed varying, location specific, understandings of the valley as a social territory, perceiving it as made up of differing clusters of municipalities with common environmental features and production systems, reflecting their own social and economic networks.

Despite its environmental and climatic diversity, the historical process of occupation of the Jiquiriçá valley has led to establishment of a certain territorial identity in which the population identify the valley as their region of origin, and the space in which they maintain social affinities and carry out their livelihood activities, as confirmed by the conversations and interviews held with its inhabitants during the reconnaissance stage of research. In summary the factors identified as conducive to this territorial identity include:

- The river itself as a common geographic and cultural reference point.
- A general, but variable awareness that the different municipalities form part of a common river basin.
- The historical presence of the railway as a means of communication and transport, and the vector of settlement and economic development as a productive agricultural region. With the closure of the railway, communication has been enabled by the road network, notably the BA 420 connecting Laje in the east with Maracas in the West, via most of the valley's other principle towns.
- A network of commercial centres connected to local towns which facilitates agricultural trade within and beyond the valley, in a number of cases specialised in particular products including Mutuípe (cocoa and associated high value tropical crops) Amargosa (bananas), Sao Miguel das Matas (cassava) and fruit and vegetables (Jaguaquara).

Table 3.3, overleaf, summarises the responses of 31 informants interviewed during the first stage of field research, on their perceptions of the geographical extent of Jiquiriçá Valley with reference to the *Território de Identidade* as defined by government.

Table 3.3 Respondents' views on territorial identity in the Jiquiriçá valley

(TVJ = *Território do Vale de Jiquiriçá*. i.e. the Jiquiriçá Valley as formally defined by government)

View of territory	Frequency	Comments
Corresponds with TVJ but with distinct sub regions	9	Respondents were aware of Government's formal designation of TVJ. In various cases forest belt or Amargosa region; Jaguaquara region; or semi-arid region were emphasised as distinct sub-territorial units
Corresponds with TVJ as designated by Government - whole upper and middle valley	5	Respondents were all political allies of government collaborators with Government territorial development policy agenda
Corresponds with TVJ –but also the area around which the FETRAF-affiliated unions are organised - covered by the <i>Polo Sindical da Região de Amargosa</i> , based in Mutuípe	3	Local union leaders from Municipalities with FETRAF-affiliated unions, also engaged in in TVJ. Primary engagement had been with the <i>Polo Sindical</i> and they displayed genuine ambiguity
Riverine municipalities up to Jaguaquara	3	Respondents whose sense of identity was primarily with local sub-regions. They were aware of TVJ but not informed or sceptical about it (total of 9)
Forest belt / cocoa region	2	
Amargosa and environs links with Recôncavo	2	
Riverine and neighbouring municipalities in Jaguaquara region	1	
Have stronger links with other Semi-arid municipalities	1	
Not well integrated into any sub-region due to Isolation	1	Respondents from Brejões were aware of TVJ, but felt unconnected with it due to their isolation; they felt closer to Amargosa but had closer links with other regional cities outside due to proximity to the BR116 highway crossing the northern part of TVJ
Did not respond	4	Did not manifest any sense of identity with the valley as a territory; focussed on own municipality

Based on the finding of the reconnaissance in the Jiquiriçá valley visits, profiles of a series of overlapping sub-regions of can be identified²¹:

²¹ Following analysis of the primary and secondary data on the economic development in the Valley a map of the different productive regions was prepared to illustrate their dynamics. This map appears in Chapter Five.

- The cluster of six municipalities in the forest belt (Amargosa, Laje, Sao Miguel das Matas, Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá and part of Ubaíra) displayed a common development dynamic based on high agricultural potential and broad-based access to land, with cocoa as the principle cash crop, providing a plausible explanation for their success in terms of convergent outcomes in census indicators for growth and reductions in poverty and inequality. For informants in these municipalities the major regional urban reference point was the city of Santo Antonio de Jesus, to the east in Recôncavo region.
- To the north and east bordering on the Recôncavo region, a cluster of transitional zone municipalities, still densely forested at higher altitudes, centred on the town of Amargosa, also including Elisio Medrado and Brejões. São Miguel das Matas was also better connected geographically to this grouping of municipality. This area, although part of the Jiquiriçá basin, is located at higher altitude than the main river valley and not contiguous with it, had previously been a major coffee producer now largely devoted to cattle and a mixture of tropical crops including cassava. The old town of Amargosa, now the second largest in the valley the centre of the catholic diocese tended to identify with Recôncavo region to the east as a result of historical and railway connections, and together with the surrounding municipalities previously formed its own administrative region - "*A Região de Amargosa*"²²
- Moving westwards, the town of Ubaíra forms the gateway to the transitional region and was the valley's historical urban centre. Informants in the transitional zone tended to perceive the "valley" as a group of contiguous municipalities centring on the valley's largest town of Jaguaquara, and were also more closely connected via the BR to the city of Jequié to the South. Jaguaquara is today the centre of a major horticultural region with a major wholesale fruit and vegetable market constructed by the municipality in the 1980s, and a number of large-scale wholesale companies, connected by road to major consumer markets and other production centres in Bahia and beyond, including *Chapada Diamantina* and the lower River Sao Francisco valley, from where produce is also traded.

²² The Amargosa region was the subject of geographical enquiry including early work by the noted Bahian geographer Milton Santos, *A Região de Amargosa* (1963).

- A belt of small, impoverished semi-arid municipalities on the northern fringe of the valley, including Milagres, Nova Itarana, Irajuba and Planaltino, where cattle-raising is the main economic activity. Milagres, has also developed as a centre of and religious tourism, based on widespread traditional practices of *romaria* or pilgrimage common in the Sertão. Located on the main road it also benefits from trade and ease of access to the major market centre of Feira de Santana, the major intermediate trade hub connecting Salvador to the rest of Bahia.
- The centres of these semi-arid municipalities are linked via the BR115 to Maracás, the major town in the east of the valley, at the centre of its largest semi-arid municipality. Maracás was formerly a centre for production of sisal, castor, cotton and cattle, now suffers high unemployment and outmigration. Known for its spring flowers, following sporadic rains, the municipality invested in the development of floriculture as an alternative income source, utilising subsidised government finance, to establishing a number of cooperatives and small businesses for which the central municipal cooperative now acts as a hub for marketing, planting material and technical assistance. Maracás is the location of the source of the Jiquiriçá valley, and consequently preserves a sense of territorial identity connected with the valley as a whole, although it also maintains links with other neighbouring semi-arid municipalities to the West and north. These include the westernmost municipality of Iramaia, formally part of the Jiquiriçá valley *Territorio de Identidade*, but lying out the Jiquiriçá river's watershed and without other connections to the valley, and which eventually dissociated from the territory at the end of 2011.

3.2.4 Conclusions

The overall impression gained from field reconnaissance of the valley was of a region sharing a number of common characteristics and unifying features, but also quite highly diverse with a variety of small towns serving as local residential, administrative and market centres, but with no major city or overall regional development pole. The valley was clearly subject to a range of socio-cultural influences due to its multi-ethnic settlement patterns and history of in- and out-migration, and the effects of broader market networks for a wide range of agricultural commodities, linked to a range of major urban centres external to the valley. The valley had its own distinctive history of settlement and development, as a centre of agricultural

production servicing Bahia's more urbanised coastal region, but its towns were now bypassed by the regional highways connecting major urban centres, and its geographical features as a river basin formed of steeply undulating hills rising to a series of upland plateaux surrounded by largely semi-arid lowlands, left it relatively isolated. The valley was not an integral part of other major regions, but was linked to the cities of the *Recôncavo* region, Salvador, Bahia's southern coast, the cities of Jequié and Vitória de Conquista to the south, the mountainous *Chapada Diamantina* and the semi-arid *Sertão* to the west and the north through continuing agricultural trade and out-migration of young people in search of employment and higher education. The valley, despite its diversity had acquired a territorial identity, and been labelled a *Território de Identidade* by default, as a result of its physical features and history of settlement as a farming region.

The originally formulated research questions were reconsidered in this context and it is worth restating them and reflecting on them at this stage, as the valley's overall characteristics, in particular its diversity influenced the way the research was carried out from this point.

i) *What combination of different factors, including the development of agricultural markets, changes in access to land and natural resources, linkages to urban areas, public policies and institutions and led to the trajectory combining growth and social inclusion in the case study area?*

Different municipalities and sub-regions of the valley appear to have been developing in different ways and therefore the drivers of their different development trajectories and processes need to be considered. The valley's geographical and natural resource diversity and multiple economic linkages with other regions suggest that the dynamics of agricultural markets will have had important but variable effects on development. In this context, variable patterns of land distribution and changes in land use are also likely to play important roles. In addition observation of changes taking place in rural Brazil since the turn of the century, together with early interviews conducted in the valley suggest that public policies and spending of different kinds have a pervasive influence on social and economic life, and it is likely that state interventions will interact with other development drivers in different ways according to differences in natural resource potential, settlement patterns, land use and cultural characteristics alongside social and institutional factors.

ii) *Has the emergence of coalitions of social actors been significant in influencing and changing the institutions that structure social and economic development in the valley so as to achieve more inclusive and sustainable economic growth in the Jiquiriçá valley?*

The valley's overall size, its diversity in land occupation and land use organisation, and variable quality of communications links together with the presence of multiple overlapping local territorial identities suggest that levels of social organisation will vary geographically and that forms of social capital linking groups and settlements in different parts of the valley may be relatively weak. Although the presence of a social movement active amongst small farmers in the east of the valley was evident from the early stages of research, its influence and linkages with other organisations and with institutional processes at municipal and broader scales that affect development outcomes may be relatively limited, compared to the impacts of geography, regional markets and state policies. The presence and nature of any broader social coalitions which exist and the effects these may have had on development in different parts of the valley need to be established empirically.

iii) *What are the implications of the valley's development dynamics for public policies in consolidating a more sustainable and socially inclusive local economy, and what light do the findings shed on Brazil's rural policies more broadly?*

The importance of public policies on the valley's development is evidently significant but the effects they have had in different locations are likely to be different and need to be investigated. Important questions are whether or not there are mechanisms and spaces through which local actors and institutions can link up to debate, adapt and apply broader policies to meet local needs, and whether or not territorial development policies and the territorial collegiate forum established are sufficiently effective and representative of the valley's social and geographic diversity to enable this to occur, or whether alternative approaches might be more effective. The extent to which the results of territorial development approaches and of public policies as a whole in the Jiquiriçá valley may reflect the experiences of other rural territories also needs to be considered.

The following chapter discusses the overall methodology, methods and data sources adopted to address these research questions, including the methods whereby the Jiquiriçá valley was selected as a case study site, and those used in the first stage of research leading to the characterisation of the Jiquiriçá valley set out here in Chapter Three. It also provides a full account of the way the research developed from this point on and the methods employed to

generate the findings to answer these research questions, which are presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Chapter 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the type of research undertaken, the overall methodology and the specific methods used. The research process was centred around an analysis of a specific case and its relevance for policy analysis, focussing specifically on Brazil's rural territorial development policies, in the context of the other factors and broader policies driving and influencing the development dynamics of the case study area.

This approach and focus required the adoption of mixed methods, including the use of secondary data, locally available literature, semi-structured interviews with different groups of informants, small-scale surveys, focus group discussions and social network analysis, and combined both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The results and findings were used to develop an analytic narrative on the dynamics and drivers of development in the case study area, the results and limitations of territorial development policy and the challenges presented for policy and institutional development. This narrative is developed through Chapters Five, Six and Seven of the thesis, using thick description, combined with presentation and discussion of empirical research findings and the analysis of secondary data.

This chapter is structured in two parts, bearing in mind the need to distinguish between *methodology* and *methods* (Silverman 2010: p.110). The first part, Section 4.2, discusses the overall methodology adopted, including: (i) the rationale for using a case study approach; (ii) the overall sequencing of the research process; (iii) selection of and overall approach to the case study area; (iv) the rationale for a mixed methods approach, including how the conceptual framework was operationalized, the principal factors investigated, and the implications for methods in the light of the type of data sources available and feasible data collection strategies; (v) the design of the first stage of field research (vi) the approach to within-case variation and the rationale for focussing on a group of five contiguous municipalities for in-depth investigation; (vii) Design of the second stage of field research including three small-scale surveys targeting rural communities, commercial traders and actors participating in social and professional networks; and (viii) the approach to data analysis.

The second part of the chapter, Section 4.3, discusses the specific methods used and how they were applied in each component of the research: (i) the selection of the case study area; and for the second stage of research: (ii) the rural communities survey; (iii) the small-scale traders survey (iv) the social network survey and analysis; (v) observational techniques and strategies employed; (vi) a summary of the primary data collected; and finally (vii) a brief account of research logistics, resources available, and deployment of research assistants.

4.2 Overall methodology

4.2.1 Rationale for a case study approach

The primary focus on a single area case study was a direct result of the overall methodology adopted by the Rural Territorial Dynamics (RTD) research programme, introduced in Chapter One, which I had collaborated in shaping. The aim of the programme was to understand what combinations of factors contribute to successful development outcomes that combine growth poverty reduction and improvements in social and economic inclusion and environmental mental sustainability within specific rural areas that appeared from available indicators to exhibit such progressive trends. In other words, it sought to understand the drivers of successful territorial development. The programme therefore selected areas for investigation based on indicators of success, and the case study area for this research was selected on this basis.

Since the focus was on a geographical area, rather than on specific social groups, households or populations, the research had to gain understanding of the development trajectories of different parts of the area, using a range of different sources of data to accumulate evidence. The research could be categorised as cross-disciplinary social science, rooted in perspectives from social geography and economic sociology, also drawing on political science, because it seeks to understand the dynamics of the area's development including its social, economic and political aspects together with the interaction of development processes with its natural resources. To understand development processes as a result of the intersection of these domains necessarily requires a focus on specific cases, a case-based approach to causality, as opposed to a variable-centred, statistical approach (Gerring 2007, p.3). A case study can generate insights that assist in understanding causal mechanisms, as opposed to statistical associations. Unlike quantitative, statistical research however, a single case study cannot produce a predictive model. Nevertheless, as Gerring shows in discussing the principles of

case study research, although case studies have methodological affinity with qualitative methods, exclusive use of qualitative methods is by no means a definitional requirement of a case study (Gerring 2007, p.10). Case studies can make multiple observations of different kinds (in this case observation of different locations, municipalities, informants and categories of informant) and therefore can also employ quantitative analysis to deal with these observations and address in-case variation.

Although case study approaches and large-scale surveys of multiple cases might be regarded as polar opposites, case-centred and variable-centred approaches should not be regarded as entirely rival enterprises (Gerring 2007, p.13). Cross-case analysis and case study approaches are directly connected in that a case is always relevant to a broader set of cases; it is always a case of something. The documentation and analysis of the Jiquiriçá valley case was one of a set of 20 case studies of rural territorial dynamics, conducted in eleven countries in Latin America. Together these were used to refine the overall hypotheses adopted by the programme and to establish a mid-range theory encompassing the different possible drivers of territorial dynamics and the roles played by social coalitions in institutional changes favouring inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development. Because the programme focus was on the conditions under which this can occur, the strategy adopted was to select cases (clusters or contiguous groupings of municipalities, or districts, provinces or regions) in each country where changes over time in the indicators available for growth and reductions in poverty and inequality reflected as closely as possible the “win-win-win” outcomes considered *a priori* as desirable (Berdegué *et al.* 2012, Rimisp 2008). The construction of a *mid-range theory*, derived from Grounded Theory approaches (Strauss and Corbin 1998; Glaser and Strauss 1967) is pertinent to the methodology adopted by the RTD programme and by my own research, in that interaction of multiple factors shaping development dynamics in different rural contexts was the subject of in-depth analysis in each case study, and through an inductive process the studies were used to develop generalizable propositions about how multiple factors interact in different types of territorial context. At the level of the programme, these propositions could to a degree be corroborated through comparison of the cases, in order to build a robust theory that explains the importance of actor coalitions of different kinds in shaping institutional development and influencing territorial dynamics in a positive direction.

The theory developed attributes the variable character of rural territorial dynamics in Latin America to combinations of five principal factors including: (i) structures of land-ownership and natural resource governance; (ii) market integration and economic diversity; (iii) links with intermediate cities; (iv) public investment and policy; and (v) the action of social coalitions. In particular it ascribes a particular role to social coalitions in mediating and managing the effects of the other factors (although they may themselves originate from e.g. the nature of the agrarian structure, proximity to regional cities and public investments in capacity development) maintaining or adjusting institutional arrangements which affect the distribution of the benefits of growth. Progressive social coalitions, which subscribe to values of social inclusion, poverty reduction and improved environmental sustainability, combined with sufficient resources of the right kind, including human and political capital, financial means, and discursive or symbolic power, are regarded as necessary, although with no universally applicable recipe, to bring about gradual institutional changes, and resist or outmanoeuvre the power of pre-existing or external coalitions which pursue development in the interests of elite groups. The theory and the supporting evidence from the RTD programme are described fully in its synthesis documents (Berdegú *et al.* (2012 a; 2012 b; 2011) and is discussed further in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

Without making claims that the resulting theory has universal validity, it is valid at least for the 20 cases examined by the RTD programme. By extrapolation, and drawing on consideration of national contexts and other cases, the theory can be considered of broader validity. Moreover, as the majority of cases selected by the RTD programme were cases that displayed “win-win-win” outcomes (in terms of growth combined with reductions in poverty and inequality) the theory can be considered to have a high degree of validity in explaining how it is that inclusive growth can take place in some rural areas of Latin America, considered as a whole. As a result of systematic indicator mapping exercises in eleven countries, the RTD programme concluded that approximately 12% of rural municipalities in those countries (1,260 out of a total of 10,421 municipalities included in the mapping), where almost 10% of their combined populations live, were on a progressive trajectory combining growth and increasing social inclusion during the last two decades (Berdegú *et al.* 2012 a and b; Berdegú *et al.* 2011). At a rough estimate, approximately between 5 and 10% of those municipalities were incorporated in case studies of rural territories undertaken by the programme, although the proportion was lower in Brazil, because of its very large size.

Twenty three per cent of Brazilian Municipalities considered to be rural²³, and 17% of those in the Northeast²⁴, one of the poorest regions, displayed positive changes in census indicators for growth and reductions in poverty and inequality for 1990 – 2000 (Favareto and Abramovay 2012; 2009). Many of these were isolated cases, but a number of contiguous groups and proximate geographical clusters were identified, from which my own case study area was selected, through a process explained below in section 4.2.3.

Regarding the use of a case study approach in my research, “in common with all case studies it is an attempt to develop as full an understanding of the case as possible” (Silverman 2010: p.138). The in-depth analysis required would not have been possible in a larger sample, as the data collection and analysis required to shed light on the interaction of multiple factors and the development of social coalitions driving development processes and outcomes in multiple cases were beyond reach of my time and resources. The research was to a large extent exploratory, in relation to my research questions: exploring the drivers shaping development of the Jiquiriçá Valley, in what ways institutional change had occurred, the roles played by different actors, and whether or not, and how, coalitions of actors had played a significant role in influencing institutional change and development. As such, the research was open ended, asked open questions and was open to recognition of new, unsuspected phenomena that might easily been missed in a more structured attempt to survey multiple cases to identify the presence or absence of a set of pre-determined factors (Miles and Huberman 1984, cited by Silverman 2010).

The research also explored to what extent the development dynamics of the Jiquiriçá valley were in fact positive, in terms of inclusive growth, and to what extent a common set of driving factors were shared amongst the different municipalities that displayed the indicators of growth plus poverty reduction plus reduced inequality in census data. The case study also sought to confirm, shed light on and / or to modify the initial propositions (hypotheses) put forward by the RTD programme about the roles of institutions determining access to and distribution of assets, and of social coalitions originating in a progressive social coalition (see Chapters 5 and 6). In fact the case was selected (as described below in section 4.2.3) in part

²³ The Brazil mapping exercise used a classification of municipalities as Urban, Rural and Intermediate, following Veiga (2004, 2002) and the classification used by OECD. This was based on a typology of Brazilian “micro-regions” used by IBGE in which municipalities falling into regions containing large urban centres or with an average population density greater than 80 person per km².

²⁴ The mapping also showed that in the same period a further 22% of rural municipalities in Northeast Brazil combined growth with poverty reduction, but without reducing inequality.

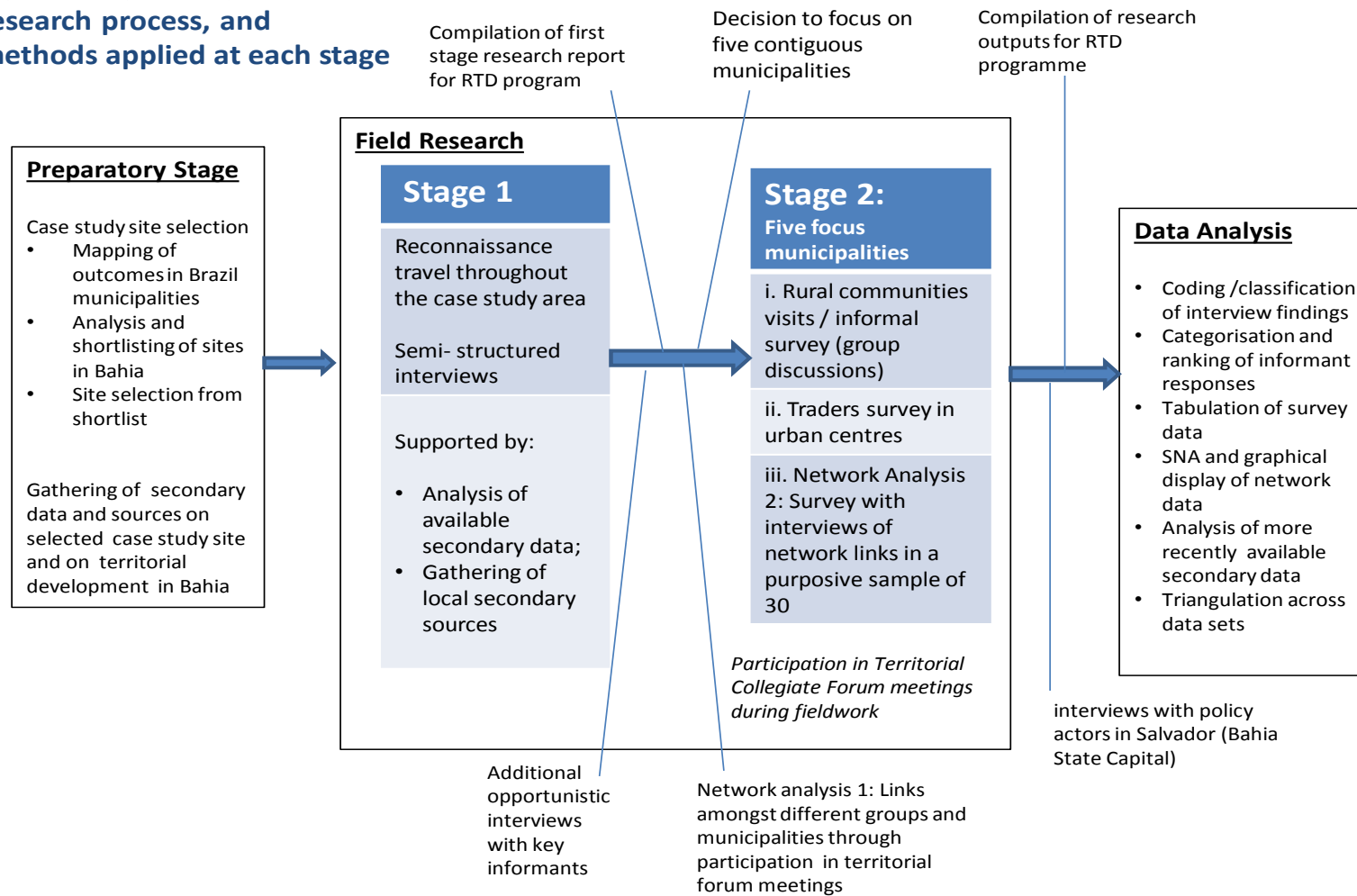
because of its apparent relevance to the theoretical proposition that social coalitions play an inclusive role in promoting inclusive rural development. In relation to the open question posed by the RTD programme about what the features of successful rural development policies are or should be, and my own third research question, I explored whether or not the application of Brazil's public policies in the Jiquiriçá Valley was building on a virtuous dynamic of pro-poor institutional and economic change. The findings on this point were used to assess the specific strengths and weaknesses of Brazil's rural territorial development policies, also drawing on findings from other studies (see Chapter 7).

At the outset, I had hoped to have opportunity for close comparative analysis of my Jiquiriçá Valley case study with the other two Brazilian cases investigated by the RTD programme (Favareto *et al.* 2012 and Cerdan *et al.* 2012) and to participate directly in the full comparative analysis of all 20 case studies. While I contributed to this process, the resources available to me and to the programme, and the logistics and timing of data analysis, report production and programme workshops did not in the end allow this. Nevertheless, as information about other cases was later obtained toward the end of my research project, discussion of comparative findings on rural territorial policy in Brazil is included in Chapter 7, also drawing on other recent studies, followed by consideration of the RTD programme's comparative findings in the concluding Chapter 8. Despite the limited opportunities for comparative analysis the research findings have intrinsic value in relation to the understanding of territorial dynamics in the Jiquiriçá valley itself, and as such should be of use to the actors and policy makers concerned with it. In so far as it has features in common with other rural areas of Brazil, the findings and conclusions also shed light on the drivers of rural development dynamics and broader significance of current territorial development policies.

4.2.2 Sequencing of the research process

A three stage process was adopted for planning and execution of the field research design and data collection. This was broadly in common with that used by the various different country studies undertaken under the umbrella of the Rural Territorial Dynamics Research Programme. The sequencing of the research process and the methods used at each stage are illustrated in Figure 4.1 overleaf.

Fig. 4.1 Sequencing of the research process, and methods applied at each stage



The research sequencing involved:

i) The process of site selection, based on an assessment of the results and implications of a mapping process for Brazil as outlined above. The details of the process by which the eventual selection of the Jiquiriçá valley was made are described in further detail under “Methods” in section 4.3.

ii) A first stage field and secondary data assessment of the geographical characteristics and development trends in the research area as a whole. This included a set of field visits and semi-structured interviews with informants in different locations. This contributed to the overall characterisation of the case study area that was presented in Chapter Three, and also provided data that were analysed alongside the results of a second stage of investigation.

iii) A more in depth investigation into the development trends, processes of change and actor perceptions of changes encountered within a specific grouping of contiguous municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley. This grouping was determined in March 2010 after the first stage of fieldwork was complete. The municipalities included, although not the only possible choices, were selected as being broadly representative of the environmental, social and economic diversity of the Jiquiriçá Valley as a whole and because they offered good scope to investigate the role played by development actors in processes of institutional change.

4.2.3 Selection of and approach to the case study area

In this section an account of how and why the case study area was selected is presented. Details of the methods used to do this are included in section 4.3. The importance of multiple territorial framings of the case study area is also discussed.

An *ex-ante* decision was taken to focus on Bahia within Northeast Brazil because of: historically high levels of rural poverty, inequality and social exclusion; my own prior knowledge and background as a researcher in the State; presence of a collaborating partner with basic infrastructure and interest in supporting the research (GeografAR research centre, Geo-sciences Institute, UFBA); and policy openness and interest in the research in Bahia, as a result of a shared policy approach to territorial development by State and Federal Governments, both of which were led by the PT (Workers Party).

The Jiquiriçá valley was selected as the specific research site starting from a method developed by the RTD programme to identify and locate geographical areas displaying positive trends in development indicators, based on established statistical techniques for “small areas estimates” that integrate data from national censuses and national household surveys and used in poverty mapping (Elbers and Lanjouw 2013, Elbers *et al.* 2003). This was applied in each of the 11 Latin American countries where the programme operated, utilising the best available proxy indicators for economic growth, poverty reduction and social inclusion for the lowest level of disaggregated census units, based on national census and household survey data. For Brazil, in order to identify the changes in each indicator between the 1991 and 2000 national censuses, a comprehensive mapping exercise was undertaken of average *per capita* income (as an indicator for economic growth), incidence of poverty (utilising the Brazilian poverty line definition of household income below two minimum wages) and *Gini* coefficients for income (as an indicator of levels of equality and social inclusion) for each municipality, using IBGE census data.

This mapping exercise itself was not part of my own research project, but was undertaken by the University of Sao Paulo. However, I made use of the dataset produced for the state of Bahia as the basis for shortlisting potential research sites and in making the final selection. I examined the data set jointly with Dr Arilson Favareto (leader of one of the other Brazil case studies in the RTD programme and one of the leading rural sociologists in Brazil) in Sao Paulo in January 2009, and identified the different municipalities in Bahia that demonstrated convergent, positive trends for all three selected indicators. I then scrutinized the results for Bahia to identify the locations of these municipalities on maps and identified and listed those that formed geographical clusters of municipalities which offered potential research sites.

For my purposes, given my interest in examining the relevance of Brazil’s contemporary territorial development policies in stimulating progressive institutional changes and bringing about greater social inclusion, the correspondence, or otherwise, of these clusters with government designated *Territórios de Identidade* was an important consideration. In narrowing down the shortlist and selecting a site, it was also necessary to consider changes in indicators in other data sets, such as the Human Development Index, and more recent data on the size of the rural population and the significance of small-scale farming, in order to assess whether or not the trends in census data indicators from the mapping exercise reflected progress in socially inclusive development processes. Logistic considerations of distance and

feasibility of regular access and travel to the potential research sites also came into play in the final choice of the Jiquiriçá valley as the site. In making the selection, these considerations were discussed with researchers from the GeografAR research centre, Geo-sciences Institute, UFBA, in February 2009 and with colleagues working in the RTD research programme at a workshop held in March 2009. The selection of the Jiquiriçá valley was only confirmed on an initial reconnaissance visit in April 2009 to meet with and assess the willingness of local actors in the government assisted territorial development process in the valley to collaborate, and identify potential local research assistants. Full details of the methods used for selection of the case study site are provided below in section 4.3.

Approach to the case study area

As was revealed at an early stage of the research, and discussed in Chapter 3, the Jiquiriçá valley is extremely diverse, and encapsulates in microcosm several of the contrasting environmental features and historical developments encountered in much of the State of Bahia and across Northeast Brazil. In view of this diversity, and in attempting to understand the interplay of structural drivers, human agency and policy factors in shaping the area's development, the research methodology, in line with an approach set out by Gerring (2007), sought to generate insight on the causal relations at work by focussing on in-case variation and on different groupings of actors and different municipalities as contrasting cases within the overall case study. As the research progressed, this necessitated a progressive narrowing of geographical and thematic focus within the case study area, and the development of a purposive sampling strategy. The sampling strategy applied for selection of specific municipalities and locations within the Jiquiriçá valley for closer investigation is discussed in section 4.2.6 below. The sampling strategies applied to the selection of respondents for the small-scale surveys and in depth interviews undertaken are detailed later on under Methods in section 4.3).

The case study, the approach to in-case variation, and the foci and strategies adopted for in depth enquiry in small-scale surveys and interviews – or in short, the definition of units of analysis - all involved the application of analytic categories (Silverman 2010) drawn from the literature surveyed in developing the conceptual framework (see table 4.1). This involved consideration of the nature and boundaries of the case study area. As the idea of *Territory* is multidimensional and multi-scalar, the case study area selected can be framed as a geographical unit of investigation in a number of different ways. As discussed in Chapter 2,

Territory can be understood as a function of political geography, as a geo-political administrative unit, or collection of smaller units, in this case the grouping of municipalities defined by government as a *Território de Identidade*. It can also be understood more dynamically: as a geographical space for which a social identity is constructed by social groups and networks resident within or sharing affinities with it, and as a space subject to the effect of evolving economic networks, relations, clusters and divisions of labour.

The multi-dimensional and multi-scalar nature of concepts of territory and territoriality is a feature of the social geography literature. The multiple ways in which the idea of territory is framed was also evident from my own prior research and practical engagement with territorial and local economic development, and from the secondary sources available in Brazil at the outset of my research. This was also evident in the case study area from the first interviews and conversations with local actors in the reconnaissance visit at the beginning of my field research. As discussed in characterising the case study area in Chapter 3, informants perceived and identified with the Jiquiriçá Valley differently. When the field research began, in order to understand the territorial dynamics of the case, and the variations within it, it was necessary to assess the region and its complex landscape from the point of view of different spatial framings and territorial scales. These included consideration of the Jiquiriçá Valley as, variously: an assemblage of municipalities and of different groupings of municipalities; as a rural territory defined by government; as the greater part of a river basin; as part of and linked to different wider regions (the semi-arid Sertão and Atlantic Forest regions of Northeast Brazil, the State of Bahia, Recôncavo region); in terms of its connections and relations with surrounding areas and significant major regional cities; and also in terms of the operational domains or action spaces of government agencies and social movements and network organisations operating in the region. Accordingly, the narrative developed through Chapters 5 - 6 makes reference to these multiple different framings, and Chapter 7 assesses the framing of the *Território de Identidade* against those of the operational domains of the social coalitions present, the region's politico-administrative geography and its economic and market networks, all of which can be considered to constitute its territoriality in practice.

The perspective adopted in developing a qualitative understanding of dynamic historical development processes underway in the case study site as a geographical unit, and the spatial diversity of in-case variation, has something in common with taking an ethnographic

standpoint in analysing the evolving dynamics of human interaction in a particular society or social group (see for instance Flyvbjerg 2006; Burawoy 1998, VanVelvson 1976). Although the object of the investigation was a geographical area, rather than a social group, it had to be considered holistically, combining multiple perspectives. The overall theoretical stance adopted, in common with much recent anthropological and sociological research, was rooted in an overarching perspective combining understanding of social structure and human agency, derived from Bourdieu, as discussed in Chapter Two. This perspective employs the theoretical device of intersecting “fields” of social action within which actors draw on multiple resources and mobilize alliances in pursuit of their interests. Combining this with institutional and geographical perspectives, collective actors and coalitions are capable of reproducing, influencing, and in some cases changing institutional arrangements which structure interaction and power relations, regulate control of and access to economic resources and forms of capital, and influence development outcomes in particular places and regions. Such a perspective applied to a particular territorial case, enables extrapolation from what the case reveals about territorial dynamics and how they can be understood in other contexts.

This approach required the iterative use of multiple methods beginning with collection of available secondary data and travel for reconnaissance and familiarisation, rapid identification of informants able to provide an overview of development processes, practical advice and further contacts. In practice this led to a degree of immersion, as a researcher in the research area, in particular in its eastern region where I was based and, temporarily, within the social networks engaged in rural development there. This sub-region, and these actors, became the main empirical focus of the later stage of my research.

4.2.4 Deployment of mixed methods

This section provides a rationale for mixed methods and explains how different methods were deployed in combination to address the research questions.

Given the focus on territorial dynamics and territorial development policy, the research was planned so as to gather as much information as possible about the principle rural development trends played out within the case study area. These trends are understood as aggregations of variable, location specific processes. They are, therefore, not necessarily uniform, and may be

countervailing, in terms of the type and level of impacts they have on different places and social groups. The research sought to shed light on a broader set of cases, and so it paid particular attention to diversity and variation within the case study area in order to explore its broader relevance. It drew on multiple primary and secondary sources of evidence of different types that were relevant to the development trends and processes in the Jiquiriçá valley, and combined mixed qualitative and quantitative methods to reach its conclusions.

The research explored the co-variation of levels of growth and social inclusion in different locations, treated as the independent variables, with multiple potential causal factors, including natural resource productivity, distribution of and access to land, levels of integration into dynamic markets and types of market development, application of public policies, and levels of social capital – here considered to include levels of associative activity, presence of civil society groups and social movements involving local people, and the volume and density of network linkages between different types of groups and types of actor. In listing these factors of interest and how they include or break down into different elements (see Table 4.1 on p.152), it is clear that multiple types of evidence can be used to measure and assess them. Therefore, despite the concern with understanding causal relations amongst multiple factors or variables, the methods employed are distinct from those of variable – centred statistical research.

In the light of the objectives, the research questions asked the broad nature of the issues and processes with which the research was concerned, , and the need to combine multiple perspectives and sources of information in order to answer them, a practical decision was taken not to conduct any sort of systematic medium to large-scale quantitative survey. It was necessary to build up an adequate qualitative picture of the complex and spatially differentiated development dynamics of the area, before considering how a quantitative survey might be designed. In addition, there was good availability of detailed secondary data from national and state level sources that could be used to shed light on development trends and dynamics in different parts of the research area and in specific municipalities. However, there was no comprehensive base line data set available from which it would be possible to draw any sort of random sample in order to conduct a household survey large enough and constructed so as to be representative of rural population of the region.

Although such a survey could have shed further light on the development trends and social impacts within specific areas of the valley (for instance the combined livelihood impacts of the development of specific markets and public policies for different social groups or asset classes in different locations), that option was excluded because of the time and resources required to construct a suitable baseline and collect the requisite data using quantitative survey techniques, and deliver useful and meaningful results. Instead, mixed methods of qualitative data collection through extensive semi-structured interviews with informants were deployed, combined with small-scale semi-quantitative surveys for different sets of informants.

The qualitative and quantitative data analysis were combined to construct an analytic narrative to explain the case study areas' development dynamics that runs through Chapters 5, 6 and 7, in which most of the data is presented. The term *analytic narrative* is used to describe a study methodology that combines statistical economic analysis using rational choice tools and case-based methods (Gerring 2007; see for instance Rodrik *et al.* 2003). By extension, the term can be applied to other approaches, such as this one, that apply mixed methods to test and refine the applicability of a general hypothesis (in this case the hypothesis one put forward by the RTD programme that social coalitions play a critical role in bringing about progressive development outcomes, by influencing the institutions that govern development processes) in a specific case. In the narrative developed, the qualitative and semi-quantitative assessments made of the in-case variation within the case study area are discussed with reference to the primary and selected secondary data, and used to generate insight on the causal mechanisms at work.

How the conceptual framework was applied to the three research questions

The development of a methodology to orient the conduct of the empirical research and the interpretation of data and findings and understand the causal drivers of the Jiquiriçá valley's territorial dynamics involved further application of *analytical categories* used to identify potential causal factors, or, borrowing from quantitative statistical research, the definition of particular *variables*, derived from the conceptual framework. These were operationalized so as to measure and assess them qualitatively and through analysis of available secondary data and empirical data collection directed towards a range of indicators, so as to gain insight into the causal relationships and processes at work, linking development drivers to outcomes, as captured by the secondary data on the valley's social and economic development "performance", and the views provided by the informants.

The categories were also used to understand the nature and structure of the case study area, socio-economically and spatially. In addition to the consideration of different conceptions of *territory* and different territorial framings of the case study area noted in section 4.2.3, these included the factors suggested in the RTD programme conceptual framework as drivers of development and my own development of it. Table 4.1 (overleaf) summarises the analytical categories and variables of interest as related to the principle elements of the conceptual framework, the relevant types of data sources and the implications for methods. These categories (or types of variables) were used to identify the types of data required, the possible sources, and the combination of methods and approaches that would be needed to shed light on the interaction of different factors in answering the research questions. The relevant types of data and the methods used in relation to the three principal research questions are listed below (see Table 4.1 on the next page).

Question 1.

What combination of factors have led the majority of the municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley to exhibit apparently positive development trends from the 1990s onwards, which combine growth with poverty reduction and, for a large contiguous cluster of municipalities, also include reductions in inequality?

This question required assembling a wide range of data and information about processes of historical development and economic and social change in the valley, including:

- Examination of the development trends themselves in terms of growth, poverty and changes in inequality, using available secondary data in an effort to understand better how they varied amongst the different sub-regions and municipalities of the valley.
- As an agricultural region, this included review of changes over time using available data and secondary sources on agricultural production and marketed outputs of different crops, and data on land holding, farm size, agrarian structure, and land use.
- Gathering data from key informants in different locations about the valley's historical development, evolution of the agricultural and broader economy, the emergence of urban centres and the growth and distribution of populations.

Table 4.1 Key concepts, analytical categories, data sources and implications for methods

Key concepts	Analytical categories, specific variables and indicators	Types of data sources	Implications for methods
Territory; Territoriality; Territorial identity	Municipality, State, Administrative Regions <i>Territorio de Identidade</i> Operating domains of specific organisations Geographically extended social and economic networks	Published maps State and federal government Regional and local organisations Informants' and actors' perceptions	Mapping of adjacent and overlapping territorial domains. Interviews with different groups in different locations about territorial perceptions
Growth; Social inclusion	Volume of Economic activity/ GDP (PIB) Income growth Poverty Inequality – <i>Gini</i> coefficient for income	National Census data Agricultural census State government statistics Other surveys e.g. HDI Informants in general	Secondary data analysis Inclusion of specific questions in interview and group discussions
Environmental Sustainability	Stocks and quality of natural capital Environmental and ecosystem services Impacts of development on natural resource availability and quality	Secondary sources Natural Resource surveys and maps Agricultural census Environmental agencies and NGOs, rural communities	Compilation and analysis of secondary sources. Informant interviews; Coverage in small-scale surveys of rural communities Triangulation of data
Agrarian structure	Land Distribution; <i>Gini</i> co-efficient for land Distribution of land size classes Family farming Agricultural labour relations	Agricultural Census Historical data sets Rural land users Farmers communities and organisations	Historical and cross municipal data comparisons; semi-structured interviews and informal surveys with farmers and farming communities; Triangulation of secondary and primary data
Social capital Citizen participation	Associative activity – bonding capital Producer associations Collective actors Social Movements and CSOs Social Coalitions; Policy networks Network linkages and organisations Horizontal and Vertical links (bridging and linking capital) Leadership and representation Instances of participatory, consultative and deliberative fora.	Community leaders Association members Movement leaders and activists Network members Records of meetings and participation lists Secondary sources Local, State and Federal Government officials	Semi structured interviews designed to generate primary data; Key informants and secondary sources; Social Network Analysis techniques applied to participation lists and network survey responses; Triangulation between data sets
Market integration and development	Economic Structure: productive and service sectors Marketed outputs Diversification Value chains Market organisation Public and Private services Links to urban and regional markets	State Government statistics Agricultural Census Confederation of Municipalities Traders, shopkeepers, business people	Semi structured interviews and small-scale surveys with traders Triangulation of secondary and primary data to provide a disaggregated municipal / micro-regional view of market development
Public Policies Public Investment	Federal & State policies; sector policies Public spending – Federal financial transfers Public Employment Income transfers Territorial development policies	Secondary sources Policy documents Political /community leaders State Government statistics Ministries, State Secretariats Local Government officials	Interviews with policy actors & key informants; compilation and analysis of secondary sources Inclusion of questions about policy impacts and perceptions in small-scale surveys
Institutions and Institutional Change	Federal, State and Municipal legislation Legal regulations Development councils Inter-municipal organisations Norms, rules and customs Institutionalised practices <i>Habitus</i> (mentality / disposition) Institutional layering, displacement and convergence	Federal, state and municipal officials Community and political leaders; social movement activists, civil society organisations, religious leaders Informants in general Secondary sources	Triangulation of secondary and primary data

- Small-scale surveys, interviews and group discussions with farmers and members of rural communities engaged in farming in different municipalities and locations, to ascertain their perceptions and explanations of change in farm production, marketing, returns from different crops and from agriculture as a whole, sources of income, and other economic opportunities, and access to assets, to build up a picture of livelihood trajectories affecting different groups and locations.
- Investigating the nature and development of the service sector in different locations, utilising secondary data on the structure of municipal economies and by surveys and interviews with traders in different municipalities.
- Investigating the linkages between farming economy and other economic activities through interviews and surveys with people and families engaged in farming, trade and other activities.
- Gathering information from documentary sources and actors engaged about the implementation of public policies and state interventions in the valley, and discussions with informants from different social groups and locations about the impacts that policies have had.
- Gathering information from secondary sources and local informants about environmental changes and natural resource loss and degradation that have accompanied the area's growth and development, the effects and social and economic impacts these changes have had in different parts of the valley, and conflicts that might have arisen.

Question 2.

To what extent has the emergence of new social forces or coalitions of social actors been a significant factor in bringing about institutional changes that shape the course and outcomes of virtuous cycles of development in the Jiquiriçá valley?

- Social movements and civil society organisations operating in the area.
- Cases and examples of collective / associative action.

- Cases and examples of successful programmes and particular projects and innovations resulting from networks and linkages.
- Cases of political and legislative change, and the nature, extent and location / geographic scope of institutional changes and innovations that occurred.
- Network connections of individuals and collective actors / organisations and participation in local and broader geographic forms of organisation, including the roles of state actors, local government and social movements in: i) cross scalar participation (vertical links); and ii) geographically and socially extended networks between different types of actors (horizontal bridges).
- Incidences of conflict between different social actors and actor coalitions
- Identification of different types of institutional change that have occurred, whether these are exogenous or endogenous to the case study area (or both), and how they have come about. This required interviewing informants about their perceptions and understandings of changes in formal laws and rules and informal norms and institutionalised practices that may have occurred.

Question 3.

What are the implications for territorial development policy? Specifically:

i) Have Brazil's territorial development policies as introduced under the Lula Government been effective in promoting productive change and productive inclusion in the Jiquiriçá valley? And:

ii) What are the broader policy implications of the research findings on the valley's development trajectories and the role played by coalitions of territorial actors?

- Perceptions and understandings of territory and territorial identity in the case study area, data only available from interviews with actors of different kinds in different locations.
- Relationships of these territorial understandings to the territory as defined by government, involving comparison of different territorial framings.
- Participation of different groups in meetings and activities of the territorial development programme, entailing access to records of participation in meetings, observation of meetings, and interviews with both participants and non- participants.
- Informant views on cross municipal programmes, projects and priorities.

- Interviews with policy level actors about territorial development.
- Informant views on policy impacts, and priorities to be addressed at both local municipal and cross municipal / territorial levels.
- Comparative information and findings about policy impacts, specifically territorial development policies, from studies undertaken in other territories.

These different types of data and methods required to gather and analyse them provided the basis for a set of data collection and sampling strategies and specific methods (interview schedules, informal survey instruments and specific survey questions) that were designed to generate data on a range of indicators to identify change and variation in the different factors of interest. The analysis then focused on the ways these different factors and processes interacted, in different municipalities and locations, to lead to the development outcomes in terms of growth, changes to poverty and inequality, and implications for environmental sustainability. For the primary data, a central concern was to gather information and views from development actors, including both individuals and organisations, and particularly those engaged in cross-municipal or territorial-level initiatives and those involved in promoting policies, projects and institutional changes aiming to stimulate local economic growth, social inclusion and improved sustainability.

The accumulation of data and evidence to address the research questions was a progressive process, as the research proceeded, involving a series of *operational decisions* that had to be made in the different stages of the research process.

Access to and use of secondary sources

Regarding secondary sources, efforts were made to compile secondary data and documentary sources before field work started. This continued throughout the first phase of field research, and into the second phase as local literature, policy information and other documentary sources became available and were gathered opportunistically. Not all the secondary data sets were available at the outset, for example the 2006 / 07 agricultural census data was released by IBGE in two stages, in mid-2009 and subsequently in mid-2010. Disaggregated data from the 2010 census (IPEA 2013) was not available until after the field research was completed and data analysis was well underway. Other data sources were “discovered” as field work progressed, as informants and co-researchers in the RTD programme and research assistants suggested them. The full list of secondary data and other secondary sources used comprised:

- Data for Bahia derived from IBGE Brazilian national census 1990 and 2000, detailing average incomes, poverty levels and *Gini* index for income by municipality. (This was extracted from the national data set compiled by USP, commissioned by the RTD programme, and discussed by Favareto and Abramovay (2009))
- HDI data from SEI, derived from the same censuses for the 21 municipalities in the research area.
- Data from the 2010 IBGE national census on incomes, poverty, inequality and other HDI indicators compiled by IPEA in the Brazil Human Development Atlas 2013 (IPEA 2013).
- IBGE Agricultural census data from 1996/7 and 2007 for Bahia extracted and compiled for the Jiquiriçá valley, by municipality.
- Municipal level data for the research area, compiled and made available by IBGE and the Brazilian National Federation of Municipalities.
- A variety of data from diverse sources collected and held by SEI, the Bahia State Information and Statistics agency. This includes annual data sets collected from Municipalities providing a breakdown of the composition of municipal GDP and of agricultural production, output and trade data, collected by IBGE through annual municipal agricultural surveys (PAM). Data produced by SEI also included a “territorial atlas” presenting a static picture of data from multiple sources for the whole Bahia organised by *Território de Identidade*, and by municipality, and subsequent sporadic updates published for each territory.
- Historical data sets on land holding derived from successive IBGE censuses and other sources, compiled by *Projeto Geografar*, a small research centre based in the Geography Department of the Geo-Sciences Institute, UFBA (Federal University of Bahia).
- Cartographic data compiled by *Projeto Geografar*, under my direction, derived from cartographic base data held by SEI, for visual representation of data sets derived from IBGE national censuses and agricultural censuses.
- Specific items of data requested from and provided by municipalities, Bahia regional Health and Education authorities, including some data from INSS (*Instituto Nacional de Segurança Social*) on rural pension payments, and from MDS (*Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social*) on social income transfers to families for Mutuípe and in specific locations visited during field work. This data was collected to triangulate and

corroborate information provided by local informants in rural communities. However it was in general very difficult to obtain and hard to interpret without close familiarity with the organisation of the parent data sets.

- Local publications including a number of Masters theses, and compilation of short studies undertaken by final year graduates, unpublished papers and reports and compiled historical records dealing with the case study area and a set of materials compiled by an amateur local historian.
- Records of participation in and discussions held at meetings of the Collegiate Territorial forum for the Jiquiriçá valley.

Stages in primary data collection

As noted earlier in discussing sequencing in section 4.2.2, the field research took place in two broad stages. The first involved a set of 34 semi structured interviews with informants from across the case study area undertaken during reconnaissance visits to its different sub – regions and principal towns. This enabled refinement of the empirical research focus for the second stage.

In the second stage, a second set of interviews was undertaken, linked to three specific, more systematic small-scale surveys conducted within a sub-set of municipalities. These surveys were designed in order to elicit responses to generate qualitative data sets for use alongside the secondary data in responding to the research questions in developing an analysis of the development dynamics of the case study area. A number of additional interviews with informants suggested by others, and several opportunistic interviews were also undertaken.

The small-scale surveys aimed to establish systematic qualitative pictures of the perspectives and circumstances of different groups of informants, and an understanding of the geographical variations of these across different locations. The samples were constructed purposively to address the research questions and particular concerns that emerged during the research process. The surveys targeted: a) members of rural farming communities; b) commercial traders in urban areas; and c) people engaged in social movements, professional networks and network organisations operating in the area. In order to gain a fuller picture of the views and circumstances of different categories of informants and the extent to which those from different groups and locations shared similar circumstances and perspectives,

interview results and survey responses were also quantified. Details of the approaches and methods used for each survey component are provided in section 4.3 of this chapter.

Each of the small-scale surveys yielded data that was used, alongside other information to address the principle research questions, by:

- analysing the interplay of multiple factors driving rural territorial dynamics;
- assessing the role of social actors and coalitions in promoting and influencing institutional change, and;
- developing a critical analysis of territorial development policy.

As a result of the relatively small-scale of the surveys, and the purposive and in some cases opportunistic nature of the sampling of the respondents and of informants for the semi-structured interviewing as a whole, no claims for statistical validity of the data are made. However the results were used to draw conclusions about the tendencies for the majority of members of particular groups, or particular municipalities or sub-regions of the case study area, to share certain perspectives, circumstances and trends. In drawing general conclusions these findings were considered alongside those of analysis of available quantitative secondary data for the project area.

4.2.5 First stage data collection and field assessment

The first stage of field research and data analysis included an initial analysis of available secondary data, and travel throughout the case study area for reconnaissance, field observation and to conduct the first set of semi-structured interviews. Together, these methods aimed to establish:

- The geographical diversity of the case study area, identifying any specific territorial or agro-ecological sub-regions with their own distinctive trends and dynamics which could be the focus of more in depth study in the second phase.
- A preliminary classification of the principal social groups in the river basin and the principal actors (both individuals and organisations of different kinds) with interests in the area.

- A picture of continuing development trends since 2000, and those underlying and affecting the performance of those municipalities within the river basin which both did and did not exhibit uniformly positive outcomes in the national mapping exercise.
- A timeline and inventory of significant policy and institutional changes, innovations, investments affecting the river basin since 1990, including Federal, State, Municipal laws and regulations, and changes and innovation in social and government organisations.
- the extent to which the cluster of municipalities identified by the mapping exercise as displaying positive overall trends may or may not be relevant for social and public action towards territorial development and establish practical geographic limits for the in depth research.

The 1990 and 2000 census data on average municipal incomes, poverty incidence and income inequality²⁵, as used for purposes of site selection, was examined against the results of the 1996-97 agricultural census²⁶ for each of the Municipalities in the Jiquiriçá Valley, and the trends in Human Development Index (HDI) data, also derived from the IBGE 1990 and 2000 national censuses. In reviewing these general trends, this data was compiled in tables and examined against maps of the area to provide a fuller geographical picture of development trends and outcomes. A summary of some of this data was presented in Table 3.2 in Chapter Three, in providing an overview of the case study area. Efforts were also made to assemble a comprehensive range of local documentation on the Jiquiriçá valley including both grey and published academic and official literature at the beginning of the first stage of field research.

²⁵ 2010 national census data was not available until sometime after the field research and the initial triangulation of primary and secondary data were undertaken, and so it was not possible to make a direct comparison of the income growth, poverty and income inequality trends in the 2000-2010 decade to those identified by comparing the earlier 1991 and 2000 censuses. When the 2010 census data did become available (IPEA 2013), this confirmed that the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley, in common with the rest of the country, benefited from generalised growth and poverty reduction. These improvements are attributable to favourable economic circumstances and Brazilian government policies pursued since 2003, under which increasing federal transfers to local government have boosted local economies, and the expansion of social income transfers reduced poverty and increased the incomes of the poor, independent of the actual social and economic development processes underway, and even where production was stagnant. The 2010 census data revealed positive changes, and a range of inter-municipal variations in the rates of income growth and poverty reduction since 2000, and some differences in directions of changes in levels of inequality amongst different municipalities and regions, without clear cut trends, discussed at the end of Chapter Five. However because of the large effects of large increases in federal financial transfers over the decade, these most recent national census data do not provide a good indication of whether or not and where specific virtuous development processes are taking place that are independent of the impacts of national policies.

²⁶ The results of the IBGE Agricultural Census undertaken in 2007 were not available at this point, and so a comparative picture reflecting changes in production, land use area, farm size since 1997 could not be compiled until later in the research.

However as a result of widely dispersed sources the collection of material continued throughout the research process.

The field assessment began with a visit in July – August 2009. This sought to obtain an overview of the development dynamics of the whole of the Jiquiriçá valley by visiting and interviewing informants in all of its different sub-regions, and involved extensive travel throughout the Jiquiriçá valley, visits to the principal urban centres and a number of smaller towns, reconnaissance around rural roads and gathering information and opinion from semi-structured interviews with key informants from ten municipalities. These interviews discussed changes taking place within the valley, informants' perceptions of its development trends and the causal factors, and their sense of territorial identity in relation to the valley and its geography.

Because of the area's size and logistical difficulties in achieving coverage of its different sub-regions and principal urban centres, further travel and interviews were undertaken in two further municipalities in March – April 2010. Interview coverage of the remaining municipalities was not possible; although all but three of them were visited briefly no contacts were made. As a result of logistical and transport constraints, very small municipalities with relatively low populations and levels of economic activity within sub – regions that had already been covered were not prioritised. This also reflected the fact that these municipalities were not engaged in cross municipal or territorial level activities in the Jiquiriçá valley, had engaged to a very limited extent, or became engaged only at a later stage, after field work completed. Six of them had low populations of several thousand concentrated in small municipal centres, surrounded by predominantly large rural estates dominated by semi-arid and transitional vegetation, in many cases apparently abandoned. One municipality, Iramaia, the furthest east and not part of the Jiquiriçá river basin, formally left the Jiquiriçá valley *Território de Identidade* in 2011, having never participated in it. Another, larger, semi-arid municipality, Milagres, was also geographically peripheral to the valley, and reported never to have collaborated in any cross-municipal activities²⁷.

²⁷ Milagres was unusual in that it had become a centre of religious pilgrimage and tourism, and as a result had a relatively large urban centre, developed around multiple churches, and close to the main BR 116 highway passing northeast to southwest through the region. The long serving and routinely re-elected municipal prefect was the dominant local oligarch, allied to the PFL and said to be extremely right wing. The story goes that he built up his local business and land owning empire after starting out as bandit who successfully led a series of armed hijacks of commercial traffic passing through the town.

The principle informants targeted in each municipality visited were municipal officials with responsibilities in agriculture, environment or other aspects of rural affairs (precise designations, roles and responsibilities are variable across municipalities) and representatives of local rural workers' and small farmers' unions. "Snowball sampling" was employed, adding in further informants identified as active in rural development and holding relevant information by the informants originally targeted, in their own or in neighbouring municipalities. . Wherever possible, accessible rural communities and local development projects were also visited; on these occasions discussions were held and field observations made, and some additional interviews recorded. The interviews were managed using a simple checklist developed in Portuguese (see the Appendix to the thesis). This was revised and improved as the experience proceeded. The questions were open-ended to maximise opportunities for transmission of information and views pertinent to the themes and to understand their professional roles and positions in relation to organisational and spatial networks.

During the first stage, three group discussions occurred spontaneously as a result of appointed interviewees inviting colleagues to share information at the same time, although focus groups were not established deliberately as a specific means of data collection. One of these occurred during the first reconnaissance visit and two during subsequent rounds of interviewing. In the last two cases, the conversations followed the same structure of topics as the other semi-structured interviews and were recorded. For data analysis purposes they were treated as equivalent to interviews, because essentially they provided an extended interview with the principal informant, accompanied by a richer discussion involving other participants. Statements and information provided by these discussion groups were recorded and considered in the overall analysis, and in some cases these are been reported amongst other interview findings in Chapters Six and Seven).

The findings of the field assessment together with the results of this first stage of secondary data analysis and information gathered on development programmes and projects in the area were compiled in a working paper, written in Portuguese and submitted to the RTD programme in November 2009. This reflected on, and refined, the initial propositions put forward account for the apparently successful trajectory of the majority of the valley's municipalities combining growth with reduction of poverty and inequality, so as to develop a fuller but still tentative narrative account of agricultural development and change and its

broader impacts on economy and society in the Jiquiriçá valley. The paper also considered the options in terms of specific municipalities and topics for in depth investigation in the second phase of research.

Based on the initial field assessment, informant interviews, available literature and analysis of agricultural and other available secondary data a picture of four broad, overlapping and fuzzily- bounded but nevertheless distinctive sub-regions emerged with differing environmental, productive, socio-cultural and demographic characteristics, types and forms of civil society and organisational networks, and linkages with different urban centres within the valley and in neighbouring regions, as discussed at the end of Chapter 3 and shown visually in Figure 5.10, p.281 in Chapter 5. A second key finding of the first stage of field research was that the most populous eastern portion of the valley clearly emerged as the main focus of a “virtuous” development process combining growth with poverty reduction and some improvements in social inclusion. Here, large numbers of small-scale farmers had been able to generate higher incomes by supplying buoyant and expanding regional markets for multiple crops, including high value crops such as cocoa. Broad-based access to land appeared to be a significant contributory factor, and the growth in farm production also appeared to be associated with development of a local service economy, with reductions in inequality, and with better prospects of environmental sustainability. This picture contrasted with that suggested by examination of the census indicators for poverty, incomes and inequality alone, which might have implied that similar processes of increasing participation in agricultural markets and growth of associated services were underway in other parts of the research area, even though these did not share the beneficial combination of predominantly small-scale family farming, good natural resources productivity and expanding agricultural markets. The nature of this virtuous dynamic process in this eastern portion of the research area, and the causal processes involved were a principle focus for the next stage of investigation, for which the specific methods used are described in the following sections.

4.2.6 Approach to within-case variation

This section explains the rationale for the decision to focus on a group of five contiguous municipalities for in depth investigation in Stage 2.

Considerable time and effort had been required to achieve relatively superficial coverage of the whole research area and the principle urban poles within it. The visits and interviews conducted and field observations made – both purposively and opportunistically - during reconnaissance travel had produced relatively rich, though not systematic data. Following coverage of much of the valley in a first extended field trip in July / August 2009, further reconnaissance travel and semi–structured interviewing was necessary in early 2010 to complete coverage of the different environmental and productive zones of the area and of the actors involved. Once this was done, as noted in discussing the rationale for the case study and my approach to comparability, it was necessary to define a strategy for more in-depth investigation to address the valley’s diversity and apparently internal contrasts in its development dynamics.

Identification of the focus area for in depth field assessment

The strategy adopted was to focus on a group of five adjacent municipalities (Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaira, Santa Ines and Cravolândia) selected for investigation into the interaction of different development processes and policies in the valley, and to provide sufficient depth to understand the specific combination of factors leading to a virtuous cycle of development concentrated in its western forest zone.

This selection resulted from the application of various criteria:

- To be broadly representative of the valley’s diversity in terms of social, economic and environmental conditions, agricultural systems and concentration of land holding. To exhibit convergent trends in terms of the census-based and other available indicators of growth and social inclusion, and to contain localities in which there was evidence suggesting these trends were linked causally to productive and / or institutional innovations. Once again, as with the selection of the case study as a whole, this was a case of selecting for success in order to be able to explain it, in line with the RTD programme’s research strategy.
- To include municipalities and localities where there was evidence of the presence of organisations and networks seeking to promote greater social inclusion and sustainability in development and changes in policies and institutional practice affecting their constituencies.

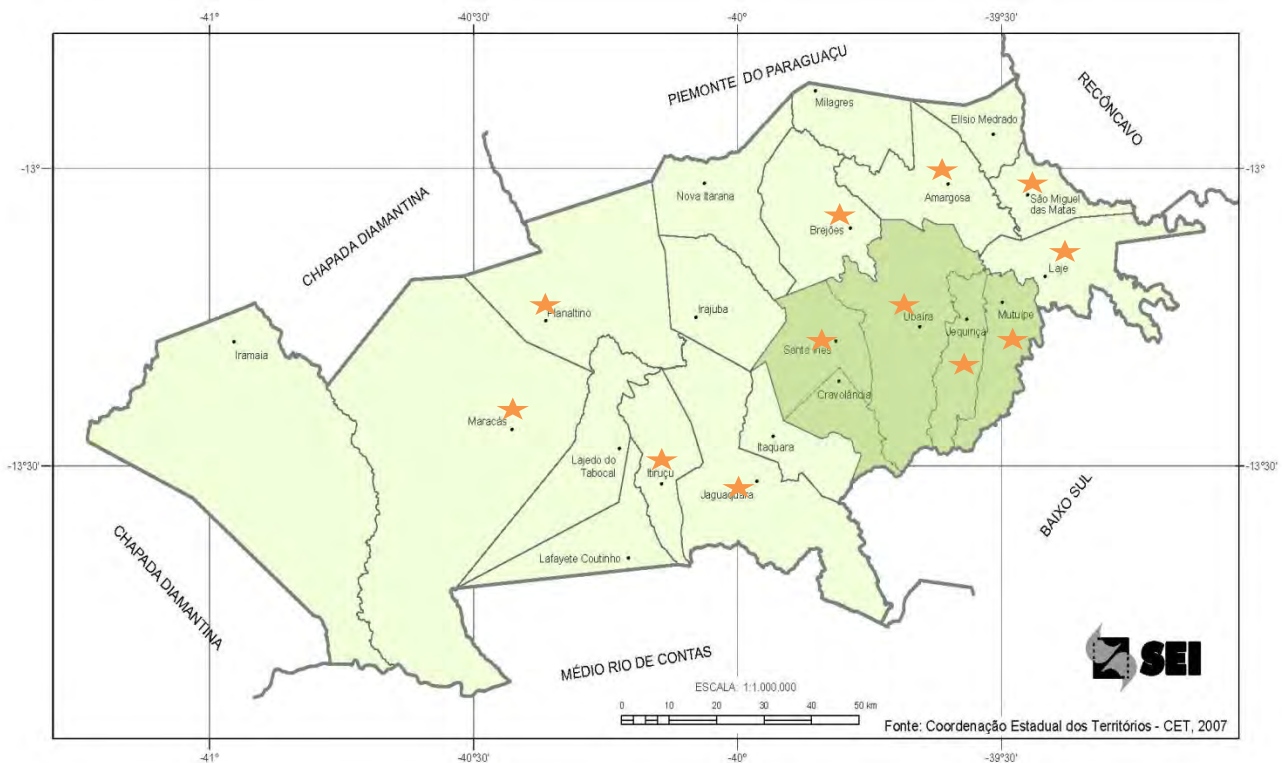
- Logistic feasibility of undertaking field research in locations meeting the above criteria. Distance from the town that had become my base in the first phase (Mutuípe in the western forest zone), travelling time and cost, and the quality and utility of linkages built up with local informant networks were all important considerations.

All five of the selected municipalities exhibited positive trends in indicators of growth, poverty and inequality since 1990, with four out of five showing “*win-win-win*” trends. Whereas those located in the forest belt had large numbers of small family farmers, others had more in common with the semi-arid Northeast Brazilian *sertão*, including more polarised land distribution, lower populations, and lower rainfall. Although only one of the five could be described as predominantly semi-arid, the valley’s transitional zone, which shares characteristics with both semi-arid and forest zones, was also represented by a substantial swathe of territory across three of those municipalities. The five municipalities selected are shown in Figure 4.2, overleaf.

The selected municipalities also fell largely within the area of influence of the rural union social movement, which had emerged clearly in the first phase of research as the principle collective actor collaborating directly in implementing government policies for small-scale agricultural and rural territorial development. Not coincidentally, the first stage of fieldwork had also shown innovation in agriculture and broader development activity to be underway in at least some of them. The five municipalities were all quite easily accessible and informants and specific sample locations could be identified through the network I had already established. In addition, as four of them had been covered in the first phase of field research, the selection had the advantage of allowing some of the interview and observational data gathered in the first phase to be utilised in assessing the municipal development trajectories.

The alternative (and originally anticipated) option was to carry out in-depth research in a set of four or five non-adjacent municipalities and locations representative of the valley’s wider geographical diversity and linked to its different population and market centres. This was rejected primarily because such a strategy would have entailed a much broader, longer and more costly study and was not feasible within the timescale.

Fig. 4.2 Municipalities selected for investigation in the second stage of fieldwork (Source: author's adaptation of a map produced by SEI, Government of Bahia, 2007, on behalf of CET - Coordenação Estadual dos Territórios.)



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- Municipalities selected for investigation in 2nd stage of fieldwork
- Municipalities not included in 2nd stage of fieldwork
- Municipalities in which field visits and interviews were undertaken in the 1st stage of fieldwork

A further consideration was the importance of grasping more fully the nature of the changes in social structure, social organisations, and political and institutional dimensions that the first stage of research suggested were underway within at least part of the valley's forest zone, and to a high degree centred around the role of the rural union movement and its regional geographical base in the town of Mutuípe. Indeed, a more exclusive focus on the municipality of Mutuípe and adjacent areas in neighbouring municipalities could have been adopted and would also have been consistent with objectives and methodological approach of the RTD programme to which the research contributed. Although this would have been possible, my concern to address the rural territorial development approaches adopted in Brazil and Bahia, implied a need to focus on locations more representative of the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole, as a state-designated planning territory, within which this same union movement had taken up an active role in the development of more extensive networks and initiatives, also involving

other actors. The choice of a more varied grouping of municipalities that did not all share the same agricultural dynamics of the valley's forest zone, and within which the rural union social movement's, levels of development, membership and political influence was variable, enabled better understanding of the valley's within-case diversity, and assessment of whether or not the territorial development approach adopted was an effective strategy.

Within this focus area "a variety of processes, types, categories [or] examples which are relevant to and that appear in the wider universe" (Mason 1996: cited by Silverman 2000, p. 144) were present. The second stage of field research used in-case sampling to further refine the general hypothesis based on the valley's general features and dynamics identified in the first stage: that different land-ownership structures, agricultural markets and levels of development of social movements in the valleys' distinctive natural regions led to different development trajectories. As the second stage of research developed, the three, successive small-scale sample surveys provided a means of deepening understanding of particular aspects and processes, including how agricultural markets, income sources and trading activity had developed, the network relations amongst different groupings of actors, perceptions of policy impacts, and informants' views on priority cross-municipal or territorial issues to be addressed. This then provided and a basis for advancing more reliable explanatory propositions.

The sample of informant interview was also expanded during the second stage of field research to provide additional respondents from the private sector and from specific municipalities, and deeper overall coverage. For those questions that were common to both stages of interviewing, it was then possible to aggregate data for a full sample of 74 respondents. This enabled a broader picture of respondents' views. As a result, the overall sample was concentrated in the five focus municipalities, but also included outliers from several others (Amargosa, Brejões, Itiruçu, Jaguaquara, Laje, Maracás, Planaltino), and provided fuller coverage of the semi-arid and transitional sub-regions of the valley. In total 13 of the valley's 20 municipalities were covered. Table 4.3 in section 4.3.7 of this chapter provides full details of the numbers of interviews undertaken in different municipalities at each stage and of the field research, and including the three small-scale surveys in the second stage discussed below in the next section.

4.2.7 Design of the second stage of field research

The main purpose of the second phase of research was to provide thematic primary data reflecting local actors points of view on social, economic and environmental change in the research area, and their understandings and perspectives on the nature and geographical range (or territorial scope) of the impacts, causal factors, and emerging opportunities, including those associated with the development of markets, policies and services, the functioning of institutions (including where possible those of legislation, municipal administration, exchange and land / labour relations) and the roles of different actors, organisations and networks. There were three principal themes for investigation:

- the changes faced by rural communities (by which I mean the residents of more or less nucleated rural settlements), believed to be substantially but not entirely reliant on farming as a source of income and means of subsistence and composed of small-scale and some medium scale farming households;
- the role of trade in local dynamics and the development of the commercial service sector as a source of income, growth and livelihoods;
- the emergence and development of civil society including associations and network organisations, their nature and their role in relation to policies and institutions around which society and economy in the research area are organised, especially but not only, at a cross municipal scale.

For each of these themes a specific field research component and data collection instruments were designed:

- a) A set of participatory appraisals in 18 rural communities, involving extended meetings and discussions with groupings of community members and /or members of community associations where these were present, and semi structured interviews with community / association leaders and other specific informants.
- b) A questionnaire survey of 36 commercial establishments.
- c) A social network study involving a short questionnaire survey combined with semi structured interviews with a purposive sample of 30 informants from the focus

municipalities, in addition to a broader network analysis of participation in collegiate territorial forum meetings and further collection of data on recent and on-going partnership, policy, programme and project initiatives taking place in the research area

Each component was designed primarily to elicit information and generate data on the three themes to which they corresponded, but each component also generated data of relevance to each of the other themes. Details of the methods used and the type of data generated by the three small-scale survey components are given in section 4.3.

In addition, during the surveys, a limited amount of primary and secondary data was collected on the development and implementation of social policies in the research area, from staff of municipal governments and sector agencies and beneficiaries contacted and from accessible national level data sets. During the second stage of research I also organised and managed a specific assessment of environmental change in the Jiquiriçá valley focussing on the interactions of agricultural and broader economic development and land use change with availability and quality of natural resources and ecosystem services²⁸. The data generated by these different research components were used in combination for analysis in social and economic trends and development outcomes, the geographical variations in these dynamic processes, and the principal external and internal factors at work.

4.2.8 Approach to data analysis

Data analysis was largely qualitative, and included interpretation of data and material gathered from multiple sources, triangulation across and amongst them. This was combined with quantitative tabulation of empirical results from the three small-scale surveys

²⁸ This was a research component specifically requested by the RTD programme although also of relevance to my own research. It was reported in December 2010 in a Working Paper requested by the Rural Territorial Dynamics research programme (Quan 2010). That paper was developed drawing on qualitative information gathered from local informants, survey returns in the other research components, secondary literature and a separate technical paper also requested by the RTD programme by a geo-environmental specialist from the Geosciences Institute at UFBA, Salvador, with experience of the Jiquiriçá valley, whose work I directed. His paper (Tomasoni, 2010) reviewed relevant available datasets derived from satellite imagery, previous field observation and relevant available literature to provide a technical account of changes in land use cover and hydrological systems, and the type of impacts these have had on natural resources and environmental services in the river valley area, concentrating on the five focus municipalities. It also suggested a feasible technical approach to monitoring environmental change to strengthen critical aspects of environmental management and highlighted the institutional challenges in gaining compliance of multiple land users, in particular cattle ranchers, whose land use practices are a principle factor in degradation of the valley's soil and water resources and overall deterioration of environmental quality.

undertaken different and of data from secondary sources and the use of social network analysis techniques to analyse the network relations amongst informants.

As a case study investigating factors that led to development outcomes within an area of interest, in common with Putnam’s classic study of variation in development outcomes in different regions of Italy and the role played by social capital (Putnam 1996), it utilised different methods and sources of data to combine both diachronic and synchronic analysis: the interpretation of historical trends over time in the case study area combined with a snapshot of the area at the time the fieldwork was undertaken to establish the nature of in-case variation. Gerring (2007, p.27) refers to this as a “comparative historical method”. The types of data gathered and utilized for the diachronic and synchronic analysis approaches are summarised in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Types of data used for diachronic and synchronic analysis

<p><u>Diachronic analysis</u></p> <p>1991-2010 (and prior historical trends)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development indicators in 1991, 2000 and 2010 IBGE census data • 1996/97 and 2006/07 IBGE Agricultural census data • Other municipal statistics, held by SEI, that indicate continuing development trends • Reconstruction of trends and changes over time in production, markets, incomes, assets, employment, land access and ownership, forms of organisation as perceived by informants • Disaggregation of data by Municipality and natural region
<p><u>Synchronic analysis</u></p> <p>Situation at the time of fieldwork (2009-2010)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview data from across the case study area • Comparison of small-scale survey data for five municipalities: perceptions and views on current levels of production, marketed output, types of land use access to land forms of organisation, incidence of conflict, levels of trading activity, sources of income and employment, livelihood and business diversification, competition, resource conflict, participation in formal and informal social and professional networks, and network linkages and collaboration at different levels and in different locations. • Current economic development initiatives, projects and plans involving producer associations, local government civil society, government agencies and other actors, and various network organisations • Current and most recent available data on municipal economic structure, Federal financial transfers and agricultural performance for five municipalities

During the research process the secondary data was selectively re-compiled, analysed and re-presented to enable interpretation alongside the qualitative survey findings and the full range of data collected, including making use of data sets that became available during the research process but which were not available at the outset. On-going *triangulation* across different

pieces and sets of data was undertaken: between the primary and secondary data; quantitative and qualitative data, and amongst different types and sets of qualitative data. This was required in order to test out directions of enquiry, confirm and corroborate points suggested by the data, and to strengthen the reliability of a primarily qualitative approach.

I made only limited use of locally available documentation in analysis of *discourse* about development of the case study area, in part because that documentation was rather limited. Brazilian policy texts were one source, but really only for contextualisation of the research issues, and for policy analysis itself, discussed in Ch 7. The relevant “development discourse” was primarily oral, and articulated through social and political discussions and inherent in social networks and allegiance to groups and to social and political movements rather than being articulated in published documents. Some attention was paid to the discourse of actor perspectives expressed in interviews and statements made by informants, whose contrasting world views and ideas are relevant to the understanding of the territorial dynamics of the case.

4.3 Specific methods used

This section provides a fuller account of methods used including the detail of the process of site selection and the methods used by the three survey components in the second stage. Information is also provided on observational techniques and the role and deployment of field research assistants. Copies of interview schedules, questionnaires and checklists for semi-structured discussion appear in the Appendix²⁹.

4.3.1 Methods for site selection

As discussed earlier in section 4.2, the starting point in selecting the specific research site was a method developed by the RTD programme which aimed to identify and locate geographical areas displaying positive trends in development indicators, based on established techniques of poverty mapping (Elbers and Lanjouw 2005, Elbers 2006). This was applied in the 11 Latin American countries where the programme operated, and utilised the best available common proxy indicators for economic growth, poverty reduction and social inclusion for the lowest

²⁹ The interview schedules and questionnaires and checklists were all compiled in Brazilian Portuguese, as this was the language medium for the entire field research process, and for interaction with other Brazilian researchers.

level of disaggregated census units) using national census and household survey data. For Brazil, a comprehensive mapping exercise was undertaken of average per capita income (as an indicator for economic growth), incidence of poverty (utilising the Brazilian poverty line definition of household income below two minimum wages) and *Gini* coefficients for income (as an indicator of levels of equality and social inclusion) for each municipality, using IBGE data from the 1990 and 2000 national censuses, in order to identify the changes in each indicator³⁰. I made use of the dataset produced for the state of Bahia as the basis for shortlisting potential sites research sites and in making the final selection

The overall findings of the Brazil mapping exercise were later reported in an RTD working paper by Abramovay and Favareto (2009)³¹. It demonstrated that 23.1 % (637) of Brazil's rural municipalities, containing 17.4% of the rural population (approximately 8.8 million people) performed positively in terms of all three of these indicators, significantly more than in regions characterised by a predominance of urban areas where the greater part of Brazil's wealth is generated, but where poverty and inequality appear to have deepened over the decade 1990-2000. Moreover, the analysis concluded, these areas do not correspond with those rural areas identified by planners as dynamic development poles, which benefit from

³⁰ Despite the availability of household survey data for intermediate and subsequent years up to 2006 the sample sizes of national household surveys were not large enough relative to the total population to allow reliable integration of their results with census data using standardised statistical estimation and poverty mapping techniques to establish a more detailed and up to date data set of development outcome indicators. This was possible for a number of other Latin American countries for which the RTD programme undertook similar mapping exercises. At the time, the 2010 Brazil national census had not been conducted, and so the positive trends identified in the selected development indicators for certain groups of municipalities were trends for the period 1990 -2000, and did not reflect subsequent changes that may have occurred.

³¹ As mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter, the Brazil mapping exercise used a classification of municipalities as Urban, Rural and Intermediate, following Veiga (2004, 2002) and the classification used by OECD. This was based on a typology of Brazilian "micro-regions" used by IBGE in which municipalities falling into regions containing large urban centres or with an average population density greater than 80 person per km². On this basis approximately 80% of Brazil's 5507 municipalities at the time of the 2000 census, with approximately 30% of the national population, can be considered as rural (Favareto and Abramovay 2012 / 2009). The classification has some limitations, however, because municipalities where land use and economic activity are predominantly rural can fall into regions classed as predominantly urban, suggesting that the proportion of rural municipalities, and their population may actually be somewhat higher. Coincidentally, the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley are a case in point, falling into the "Recôncavo Sul" region classified as predominantly urban, because of the concentration of large urban centres elsewhere in the region, although the valley itself is relatively remote from these cities. As a result, the ten predominantly rural municipalities in the valley that showed improvement in all three census indicators for growth and reductions in poverty and inequality were not counted amongst the 23% of Brazilian rural municipalities reported by Favareto and Abramovay (2012; 2009) to have progressed in this way.

public and private investment in for instance irrigated and technologically advanced agriculture, agro processing and rural industries³².

- The improved performance of these rural areas in terms of rising *per capita* incomes, and reduced poverty can partially be explained by the effects of social income transfers from 1993 onwards, in particular rural pensions, a phenomenon not shared by urban areas until more recently. This does not explain, however, the divergent performance of different rural areas and the existence of clusters of municipalities demonstrating all round improvements. Favareto and Abramovay identify a number of additional factors contributing to these positive trends, including private transfers and remittances from migrant labour, production and market development for small-scale family farming (in particular the dairy sector), and increased public investment in rural infrastructure and services (particularly education, public health, electrification and communications). However the latter two factors came on stream only at the very end of the 1990s, having since expanded. As a result the analysis advances the general hypotheses that the surprisingly successful development dynamics of 23% of rural Brazil in the 1990s results from a combination of income transfers and modest productive investment in favour of small producers (Favareto and Abramovay 2009). The precise circumstances and parts played by social and institutional factors in establishing and sustaining this virtuous combination were then investigated in the empirical phase of the RTD programme research, which included three case studies in Brazil, one of which is the subject of this thesis.

The results for the State of Bahia, on which I had already decided to focus, were scrutinised to identify municipalities showing improvements in all three indicators in the 1990 -2000 period. The location of each municipality was identified utilising maps available on the IBGE website, and four clusters of municipalities (comprising groups of contiguous and other close-by municipalities) showing positive improvements in all three indicators were

³² In general the mapping demonstrates a significant geographical separation of centres of production and those of what has been referred to in European literature as the “residential economy” (Davezies 2009) - areas where people live and retire deriving income primarily from employment elsewhere, pensions, other social and private transfers, and potentially, as in Europe but not in general in Brazil, from provision of goods and services related to housing, leisure, tourism and part time farming (Favareto and Abramovay 2009).

identified. Local knowledge and information on each of these areas was reviewed in discussion with local researchers in order to assess the likelihood that these changes could be attributed to endogenous processes, amongst other factors.

In order to interpret the data to select a specific site for investigation the two next steps were:

- Collection and analysis of a broader range of more up to date secondary data for Bahia and identification of the recent historical trends for the groupings of municipalities which emerged from the mapping as “win / win / win” or “+ + +” (i.e. combining growth with reduced poverty, and greater equality) for the 1990s, in order to enrich understanding of these regions’ development “performance” and contemporary trends.
- Assessment of geographical clustering of + + + municipalities and their locations within Bahia, overlay of the clusters vis-à-vis the politically defined rural territories in the state and discussions with local researchers in Bahia of the regional contexts and development trends that might be affecting groups of contiguous municipalities that fell into the same territories. The adoption by Bahia’s State Government of *Territórios de Identidade*, groupings of municipalities considered as planning units which coincide with those recognised by Federal government, suggested that some institutional innovation would be underway at the level of these territorial units, and that there would be scope for public policy to take up and apply the lessons of research into territorial dynamics

The criteria used for the choice of the specific site were:

- Positive performance of the cluster during the 1990s as confirmed by available up to date indicators;
- indications based on Bahia’s regional economic geography and history that productive development has contributed significantly to the positive trends (as opposed to e.g. short term investments generating growth and employment, overwhelming dependence on social transfers, outmigration and geographical displacement of poverty);
- presence of an on-going territorial development process, which indicated scope to examine effects of current policies in discussion with local and policy actors, and for uptake and application of research findings;

- reasonable accessibility of the area from Salvador, so as to ensure the field research would be logistically feasible and affordable.

Examination of the results of the mapping exercise for Bahia revealed a range of scattered municipalities and a number of clusters of contiguous municipalities exhibiting positive change in all three indicators. The larger clusters corresponded with groups of three or more municipalities falling within (and occasionally cross-cutting) the officially recognised rural territories, and provided a shortlist for study. This included parts of the Territories of *Litoral Sul*, *Vale de Jiquiriçá*, *Sertão Produtivo*, and *Alto Sertão de São Francisco*.

At the time when the shortlisting of sites was done, (February – March 2009), comparable data to that used in the national mapping was not available for the 2000 – 2008 period, although data and findings from the 2010 national census were later released by IBGE (in late 2011). However, examination of a broader range of indicators derived from more recent municipal, state and 2006 agricultural census data (drawn from a database under compilation at the time by the GeografAR research centre, at the Geosciences Faculty of UFBA), indicates that the overall trends in economic and income growth and poverty reduction have been sustained up to 2006 for all of these clusters. Major factors benefiting rural areas as a whole have been the expansion of income transfers and rural credit (PRONAF) programmes as a result of continued and improved progressive Federal social policies since 2000, now augmented by complementary State Government policies following political change in 2006.

Available data and understanding of these four territories in context of Bahia's broader regional socio-economic dynamics shed further light on the dynamic processes behind the improving general indicators, and led to the choice of the Vale de Jiquiriçá as focus territory:

The *Litoral Sul da Bahia*, a large and complex territory and major cocoa producing area, suffered a major economic decline in the 1990s as a result of the collapse of cocoa monoculture (in the wake of a pandemic fungal infection and low international cocoa prices), leading to very mixed outcomes in different municipalities. Unemployment prompted outmigration of rural populations to Salvador and local cities, contributing to local declines of incidence of rural poverty but to increases elsewhere.

In the *Sertão Produtivo*, a perennially arid interior area suffering a collapse of cotton production, a tradition of labour migration to the Sao Paulo region and expansion of the mining industry appear to have contributed substantially to maintenance of household incomes and avoidance of poverty traps, although social income transfers and production and marketing innovation by farmers organisations have also played a part.

The *Alto Sertão de Sao Francisco* has only a very low rural population, and has benefited from recent public and private investments in irrigated agriculture and in public services, processes which appear to have contributed to short term increases in production, incomes, and employment during the 1990s, but which do not necessarily represent any more sustained endogenous dynamic.

The Jiquiriçá Valley - *Vale de Jiquiriçá* in Portuguese - has a significant rural population, a predominance of small farmers in most municipalities, no tradition of seasonal or longer term out-migration, and no significant industrial development. As a cocoa producing region, it has faced similar problems to the *Litoral Sul*, yet experienced no net loss of productivity or decline in population during the 1990s and to date – this alone is a significant indicator of stability and sustainability of its productive and livelihood systems (Ruiz Olalde et al 2007).

The selection of the Jiquiriçá Valley as focus territory for the study was also encouraged by its status as a river basin, relative accessibility from Salvador, the presence of an inter-municipal consortium, and a history of rural union mobilisation, which appears to have paved the way for the widespread implementation of social income transfers, rapid expansion of rural credit, growth of rural infrastructure and a continuing programme of land reform. The choice was confirmed following a preliminary field visit (17-20 March 2009) and ready acceptance of the aims and objectives of the research by the principal actors in engaged in the territorial planning forum.

4.3.2 Methods used in the first stage of research

Details of these methods were provided earlier in section 4.2.5 in providing an account of how the research process and understanding of the case study area's overall dynamics developed, leading to development of sampling strategies in the second stage as a basis for more geographically focussed, in-depth analysis. The specific methods used for the small-

scale surveys undertaken in the second stage of research are described in the next three sections.

4.3.3 Methods for the survey of rural communities

The overall sampling frame used in the second stage of fieldwork was that of the five selected focus municipalities, Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Santa Ines and Cravolândia. Of the five municipalities selected, one, Santa Ines almost entirely semi-arid and dominated by large-scale landowners, was excluded from the rural communities survey as such, because it was devoid of all but isolated rural dwellings, small clusters of families living as dependents and workers of a handful of functioning large *fazendas* and a small number of land reform settlement in the process of establishment.

For the other four municipalities, lists and sketch maps of rural settlements and their approximate locations were obtained and drawn up jointly with local key informants (municipal agricultural officials and rural union activists, supplemented for two municipalities by participation of state agricultural extension workers and other local agronomists). For the larger three of these municipalities a shortlist of target communities was drawn in discussion with these informants and in each case a local research assistant with specific knowledge. The aim was to achieve five or a minimum of four successful participatory appraisal meetings in each municipality and the sample was intended to be representative of the diversity of rural settlements in terms of:

- distance from the municipal urban centre and the River Jiquiriçá;
- natural environment and farm production systems (largely a function of altitude and rainfall);
- presence or absence of an active producers and /or residents association in the community (in large measure linked to levels of rural union membership and the presence or not of a rural union, church-based, or other community organiser within the settlement), and;
- proximity to and linkage with larger commercial estates or investment projects (if present).

An important additional criterion for selection was the availability of a reliable contact with capacity to call a meeting of community members and arrange interviews. In practice the reliability of contacts, together with time requirements, transport and accessibility (the

condition of rural roads tends to be poor and much of the area is subject to high rainfall including in the July – September period when the survey took place), and availability of participants (including local community leaders, association members and research assistants) dictated the rate of successful community meetings achieved. In practice prior visits to a number of locations were required to arrange meetings in a number of cases, and others were postponed or cancelled as a result of transport and communication difficulties.

In the one remaining Municipality (Cravolândia), because of its relative isolation, small size and low rural population, only three rural settlements were identified, of which two were visited (one close to the municipal centre and other more distant, each located in distinct agro-ecological / production zones). As a result of difficulties with prior communication, data collection in these cases took place through interviews and discussions that occurred spontaneously during a day trip accompanied by a local EBDA extension worker familiar with the area, and discussions with a local community leader encountered in the more distant location.

The survey design planned specifically to use focus group discussions using participatory appraisal techniques as a means of data collection. In general local community leaders acted as contact people and gatekeepers and were encouraged to facilitate an effective exchange with a group of community members. Groups were formed either by local residents' or producers' associations (three out of five visits in Mutuípe and one in Jiquiriçá), by groups of residents called together in advance by the principal contact person (the other two cases in each of Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá, and all three cases in Ubaíra), or for the two cases in Cravolândia, due to an absence of prior contacts and no means of telephone communication, by groups of informants who assembled spontaneously. As a result of the ways meetings were called, the data collected may have been subject to some bias due to the people concerned being members of associations and / or established kin and friendship groups. While it was not possible to control for this, care was taken to focus questioning and discussion on the whole community in question, as well as on the role of the association (where one existed) within it. In some cases discussions tended to be dominated by a few more informed, educated and articulate individuals, association presidents and co-organisers (generally women), or other more educated and vocal community members (generally men). In these cases care was taken to involve other group members in discussion, or to hold one to one conversations with a selection of individuals more reluctant to speak out in the group

setting. Although individuals provided information about their own and their family circumstances in these discussions, in all cases they were treated as community group discussions that provided information about conditions, changes and perspectives of the community as a whole, but not as individual informant interviews. In a few cases individuals' remarks and perspectives have been reported in the text, in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

A combined checklist, guideline and cue sheet, and tabular format data collection template was designed as an instrument to orient the interviewer, stimulate discussion and elicit information from community meetings and informants, and for recording key information (see the Appendix on p.496). This was tested in the first two communities visited and fully revised. Guidelines and basic training was provided to two local research assistants on the conduct of the participatory assessments, including in questioning and interviewing techniques, management of discussions, and simple PRA ranking and visualisation methods (Venn diagrams and timelines). The research assistants participated jointly in the trial visits and subsequent revisions of the data template. Meetings were audio-recorded in full wherever possible, and in practice data recording took place combining use of the template, detailed field notes and audio recordings.

As principle investigator I led and managed the five community visits and meetings in Mutuípe, and in the other three municipalities I led the planning meetings, the sample definition and initial reconnaissance visits to determine and plan the itineraries, a set of activities in which the research assistants also participated. Once the detailed plans had been made, the assistants then undertook the other nine community assessment visits and meetings in Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Cravolândia, in the company and under direct supervision of an experienced collaborating researcher in the RTD programme from UFRB (Federal University of the Bahia Recôncavo, based at the campus in Cruz das Almas, located half way between Salvador the state capital and the research area) for whose detailed terms of reference and management in the RTD project I was directly and solely responsible. For all cases where I did not have direct and personal control over written and audio data recording, participatory meeting and interview results and field observations were written up by my research team in the form of structured reports over which I exercised quality control and where necessary requested revisions and supplementary information.

Of a total target of 18 participatory assessments 14 were achieved: 5 in Mutuípe, 4 in Jiquiriçá, 3 in Ubaíra and 2 in Cravolândia. For Ubaíra this success rate was markedly lower

than expected especially as it is the largest and most populated of the five target municipalities³³. As a result of the lower than target success rate, the data and information obtained from these participatory appraisals is supplemented by that obtained from earlier community visits and meetings undertaken during the first stage of field enquiry. These included an earlier two in Ubaíra, one in Jiquiriçá, three in Mutuípe (including one urban community association with strong rural links) and also one in each of Cravolândia and Santa Ines (both land reform settlements). These were less structured occasions with broader objectives, undertaken more opportunistically (e.g. joining rural extension officers for community and producer meetings with specific purposes) or focused on obtaining information on a specific theme (women's income generating projects, land reform, community-based environmental initiatives and cocoa extension). Data collected was captured in audio-recordings and detailed field notes, and corresponded in part with that gathered at the later more systematic assessments. The interview recording and transcripts were analysed alongside the original field notes by sorting and sifting the content in relation to the main questions asked, and to extract information and illustrative quotations related to the principle analytical categories and variables under consideration (listed in Table 4.1). Some of this data proved amenable to compilation with the data gathered systematically in the second stage, and was later analysed alongside it, in drawing conclusions on particular topics.

4.3.4 Survey of commercial establishments

The decision to conduct a traders' survey emerged from consideration of the results of semi-structured interviews with traders in the first phase, the emerging results of the assessment of rural communities and from informal conversations with shopkeepers in the research area. Consideration of the secondary data, and points made by key informants also suggested linkages, between public policy and the success of small-scale farming and levels of development of the urban trade and service sector (discussed in Chapter 5), and for rural households and communities in the forest zone, between livelihood and accumulation

³³ This was due to a number of factors: a rural settlement pattern that did not lend itself to organising community meetings being generally highly dispersed (composed of relatively isolated farm settlements, products of land sub-division of originally large *fazendas* originally settled by colonist of European origin, supplemented by larger semi-urbanised hamlets close to the main roads and river), large distances, poor communications and accessibility; and reluctance amongst municipal officials and rural community contacts to accept or collaborate with the research exercise, something which can be attributed to the political dominance of a highly conservative and paternalistic power network, which historically has manipulated and restricted community organisation.

strategies involving farming and those involving urban trade and employment. These linkages required further investigation.

The field investigation of the trade and services sector centred on an informal questionnaire survey undertaken in four out of five of the focus municipalities with commercial urban centres, Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Santa Ines, each of which has a commercial centre. The tiny municipality of Cravolândia was discounted because there were only two or three very small shops that were not open when the municipal centre was visited. The aim was to provide data on the historical and recent development of the commercial sector in each town, the dynamism of the local economy, the linkages with evolution and change in the agricultural sector and in public policy, and the views of the owners and managers as regards opportunities and constraints for business development, and the factors underlying recent trends.

In none of the towns was any sort of list of commercial establishments available³⁴, and timing and logistic constraints prevented me from compiling systematic lists. The approach to sampling was therefore to establish estimates of the overall numbers, types and size of establishments in each of the towns by visual inspection and drawing on local knowledge of the research assistants and local informants. Efforts were then made to ensure that the number of establishments sampled in each case was roughly proportionate to the total number, and that these should represent the different types of goods and services the establishments provided and also the sizes of the businesses encountered in each town.

A simple questionnaire was drawn up and tested in Mutuípe and then revised, with participation of a research assistant. Three research assistants, who between them had detailed local knowledge of the four towns, were then familiarised with and oriented in appropriate interviewing technique and a snowballing approach to sampling within the overall estimates of the proportionate numbers of type and size of different types of establishment to be obtained within each sample. The survey in each town was undertaken by a research assistant (jointly with myself in Mutuípe where I conducted the majority of the interviews) and in all cases the questionnaires were completed by face to face interviews with the owners or managers of the establishments surveyed. Of a total target of 50 establishments 36 questionnaires were completed, as follows: Mutuípe - 11; Jiquiriçá - 13; Ubaíra – 8; Santa

³⁴ In only one location, Mutuípe, was there a commercial trade or business association present, and even here it was not very active and did not have significant membership or any sort of data on commercial establishments.

Ines – 4. The research assistants returned the questionnaires and compiled the results obtained for each town under my supervision and with my collaboration, to eliminate ambiguities and doubts and ensure overall consistency of the results across the four towns.

As a result of the informal and opportunistic nature of this survey, including the absence of a systematic sampling frame, and difficulties in drawing a systematic or stratified sample, and in exerting rigorous control over the returns, no claim is made as regards any sort of statistical reliability of quantitative analysis of the survey results. Indeed the purpose was rather to develop a qualitative picture of the ways in which the commercial sector was developing, and the circumstances of business people in the different towns and types of business, and their views on the underlying factors and the dynamism, or otherwise, of the local economy.

The information is supplemented by in depth interviews with larger and more successful business people specifically indicated as key informants and in some cases also included in the network study component discussed in Section 4.4.5 below. During the course of both stages of field research I also visited and gathered information and data (interview notes, recordings and photographs) from eight other smaller and larger businesses in the river valley area (three of which were located outside the five focus municipalities) including prominent commercial farming operations, commercially oriented rural development projects and the only small – medium scale industries in the focus municipalities.

4.3.5 Network study

The decision to apply social network analysis (SNA) techniques arose initially from interest in the RTD programme of their possible utility in understanding how linkages between different actors might or might not contribute to territorial development dynamics, and in particular to the formation of social coalitions able to influence institutional change. SNA techniques were taken up by some of the other RTD case study research projects and applied at different stages and in different ways.

The collection of data on networks and network organisations operating in the research area began in the first phase of field research which sought, amongst other things, to establish a picture of the type of connections which existed between actors and organisations in different municipalities of the river basin area and the spatial dimension of these networks in relation to the territory as defined for planning purposes. During the first stage of field research, as a

result of my own participation in two meetings of the Collegiate Territorial Forum, and in discussion with the organisers, it became clear that overall participation different municipalities and social groups that the Collegiate was intended to represent was uneven and irregular and that participation was concentrated in the eastern part of the valley.

In view of the picture that emerged from the first stage of research of a set of governmental and civil society organisations which maintained distinct networks within overlapping but self-defined or administratively designated territories, the purpose of the network study in the second phase was to gather data to establish a more definitive view of the nature, strength, coherence and socio-spatial dimensions of networks in the valley and five focus municipalities, and a view of their external network connections. The study also focussed on the network established by and represented in the Jiquiriçá valley collegiate territorial forum in order to better understand the broader social networks related to it, and sought to respond to a number of specific questions that had arisen, concerning: the level and geographical scale of cross municipal linkages and networks; the representativeness of participation in territorial network organisations; the role of local actor networks in bringing about institutional and political change; and the levels at which this might occur and the type of network relationships that enabled it.

Simple SNA techniques (Scott 2000) were applied in two stages. The first involved an analysis of network links established amongst different categories of actors involved in the Territorial Collegiate forum, from different municipalities, using records of participation in forum meetings. The second applied similar techniques to map individuals' networks, including people both involved and not involved in the social movement-led territorial development forum. The semi-structured interviews conducted in the first stage of field research, the first network analysis exercise and the initial interviews I conducted for the traders survey had all revealed that various groups of actors, notably the private sector and local government in various municipalities were not involved at all in territorial development efforts. The questions arose of what networks they were engaged in, and what their perceptions were of territorial identity, and what perspectives they had on how to bring economic development to the valley.

I made a decision to combine a network study with in depth interviews with the same set of informants, to generate a richer set of data on different actor's perceptions of development priorities opportunities and constraints that would complement and extend the findings of the

first set of interviews. This effectively increased the total size of the sample of informants interviewed. As with other interview results, recording and transcripts were analysed alongside the original field notes by sorting and sifting the content in relation to the main questions asked, and to extract information and illustrative quotations related to the principle analytical categories and variables under consideration in this part of the study. Chapters 6 and 7 include tabulations and ranking of informant responses derived from the combined results of the first and second stages of semi-structured interviews.

The network study and specifically the network survey was conducted with the collaboration of one specific research assistant who had helped at the beginning of my field research, a local Masters student at UNEB (*Universidade Estadual da Bahia*), and a native of the valley. Already well trained in interview techniques, and able to understand the objectives and methodology of this part of the research, she was able to assist in gaining the cooperation of the chosen informants.

i) Analysis of network relationships established within the Collegiate Forum.

As a proxy indicator of network relationships, frequency of participation in five meetings of the forum which took place in 2009 -10 was analysed, focussing on the *affiliation* of participants (in terms of municipality of origin and status as a representative of local government, civil society, private sector or a community-based organisation) in order to derive information about the relative frequency of participation of representatives of different municipalities and types of group, the *strength of relationships* amongst them (as indicated by the number of times different pairs of municipality or group representatives met at the same meeting) and based on this data, the *centrality* of different municipalities and groups to the network being established by the forum.

Using software for visualisation of social network relationships³⁵ a preliminary mapping of the network relationships was undertaken using this data from which a clear picture of centrality of particular groups and in some cases individuals, and the strength of relationships emerged. This provided a relatively robust confirmation of impressions formed in the first stage of fieldwork regarding the spatial concentration of the network, and the weakness of

³⁵ Netview. This is a freely available “front end” of more sophisticated social network analysis software marketed as UCINET, geared towards visualisation of networks requiring relatively simple data entry or pre-analysed network data imported from other programmes. Nevertheless manual data entry proved extremely laborious. For more detailed analysis of this data and for the next part of the social network analysis study outlined below access to a full version of UCINET will be required.

geographically distant links. It also appeared to indicate the strength of socially and ideologically proximate relationships underpinned by political affiliation, something that was further investigated in the next exercise in network analysis.

ii) Analysis of network relations amongst a purposive sample of actors from the five focus municipalities

The second application of SNA was more detailed, and involved a mapping of the individual and interlocking networks of a set of key figures and leaders from each of the five municipalities in the core focus area, including their external network links. This was the most formal of all the three survey components, and combined investigation into the network relationships amongst a set of informants living and working in, or in a few cases responsible for management of activities in one of the five municipalities, with in-depth assessment of their perspectives on territorial development and the Jiquiriçá valley as a territory.

For this component a purposive sample was constructed and a closed list of 30 informants drawn up. Informants were then asked to complete a short questionnaire and participate in an in depth face to face interview, (or failing that a telephone discussion). All informants were contacted personally and provided with a letter to explain the purpose and procedures, seek their consent to participation in the survey, and provide assurance that their anonymity would be protected in the event of a need to use and reproduce information or views provided in any form of research report or published document.

The sample: was constructed to maintain a balance amongst: representatives of the five different focus municipalities in the second stage of research; those drawn from local government, civil society and private sector; state and non-state actors; and between people who did and did not participate in the Collegiate Territorial Forum. It included: three identified informants from each municipality including representatives of local government, civil society and private business sector, except in the case of Cravolândia where there was no business representative); five representatives of state agencies; four people actively engaged in cross municipal and territorial network development (including two from municipalities falling outside the focus group of five); the owner of the only sizeable industrial firm local to the research area; the director of a further and higher education institute located in the research area, and a maximum of six people from any one municipality. Although the network survey concentrated on the five focus municipalities, because it addressed participation in territorial and regional networks, a number of territorial

actors from elsewhere were deliberately included, even though some of them were based in other municipalities (and in two cases based outside the Jiquiriçá valley), as one objective was to test if and how the municipal actors surveyed were connected with them.

Design of the questionnaire and interview schedule: The central element of the questionnaire (see the Appendix on p.504-509) was a matrix listing all the other members of the sample group to indicate a) whether they were known personally to the informant; b) if they maintained a collaborative professional, political or business relationship and if this could be characterised as strong, regular or weak and c) the direction of that relationship, in terms of flow of information or practical support from one to the other, or alternatively, a mutual exchange.

Informants were then asked to indicate up to five significant collaborators or representatives of agencies and organisations with whom they collaborated or who supported their work or business in the Jiquiriçá valley, including outsiders. They were asked the same questions about the nature and direction of the collaborative relationship as they were for the other members of the closed list and then also asked about their perceptions of the relationships, if any amongst those external collaborators, and any points to highlight about relationships between them and the other members of the closed list.

The next part of the questionnaire was designed to facilitate a semi-structured discussion with the informant to gain more in depth information about: a) their own engagement in any type of formally or informally established network or network organisation within their own municipality, within the Jiquiriçá valley, or extending beyond it; b) awareness of specific local or broader territorial projects or initiatives that had resulted from the network relationships they had indicated; c) up to five topics or development issues in the valley which they felt needed to be dealt with at a cross-municipal or territorial level, and finally; d) if they believed that collaborative links in the valley or amongst municipalities were now stronger than they were five years ago. From the closed list of 30 informants 28 responses were obtained³⁶, 23 of those through face-to-face interviews. Of the five respondents returning the questionnaire by electronic mail, two failed to provide responses to the open

³⁶ Of the two non-respondents, one (the former Prefect of Mutuípe who was engaged in political campaigning as a candidate for the state assembly at the time of the survey in late 2010 and therefore not available) had previously participated in interviews and discussions covering the same ground, but not the survey of network relationships. However he was known to all of the other respondents on the list who in many cases reported a strong collaborative relationship.

ended questions. All but five of the 23 face-to-face semi structured interviews were audio-recorded. Additional semi-structured interviews (but not network matrix completion exercises) were then conducted with a small number of network contacts suggested recurrently by the informants on the original closed list, in order to gain their perspectives on issues pertinent to territorial development and the development of organisational and actor networks organisations in the valley.

4.3.6 Field observation and observational techniques

In addition to the data collection through interviews, group discussions and small-scale surveys, two sets of field observations were made and recorded during the field research:

- i) Visual observation during travel on main and secondary roads and during visits to farms and villages of spatial variations in terrain, topography land use and environmental features. These included crops grown, tree crops, types of natural vegetation, landscape characteristics including environmental degradation, erosion, condition of pasture, and presence and condition of water courses and water sources, and also settlement patterns, condition and quality of housing, presence of churches, schools and other community facilities, electricity supply and cell phone coverage. In a number of cases sketch maps were prepared as *aides memoire*, and features of the natural, agricultural and built environment were topics of discussion during the appraisals of rural communities and interviews which served to corroborate observations as did some locally available documents and sources of secondary data.
- ii) I participated in four meetings of the Collegiate Territorial Forum and observed the participation and interaction of its members. This also provided access to material presented and discussed at the meetings. Observations were corroborated by access to meeting records and in a number of interviews and discussions with key participants. Of particular interest were different participants' perceptions and experiences of the collegiate forum, and how their understanding of its purpose and objectives, aspirations for it, frustrations with it and with respect to related aspects of federal and State Government policies changed as time went on. Some of these views are reported and discussed in Chapter Seven.

4.3.7 Summary of primary data collected and held

The primary data collected included:

- 74 semi structured interviews audio recorded (or where not recorded with detailed written records) with a wide variety of local informants, concentrated in five focus municipalities, including interviews conducted for different specific components of field investigation. Field notes and completed checklists and templates corresponding to these interviews and to a number of others which were not recorded.
- Completed discussion schedule templates and accompanying field notes from visits to and discussions with 14 community groups visited in a rural communities' survey in the same five focus municipalities between July and September 2010. Five of these were recorded. These 14 cases are supplemented by field notes and recorded interviews and discussions in previous visits to 7 other rural communities.
- 28 detailed questionnaire returns from a closed sample of 30 informants in a network study of the same five municipalities, with interview notes and audio recordings from semi-structured interviews with 23 of these same informants. These are included in the overall total of 74 semi-structured interviews)
- 35 returns from a small-scale survey of commercial establishments in four of the five selected focus municipalities.
- Notes from participant observation of four meetings of the Jiquiriçá valley Collegiate Forum which coincided with my presence in the area for the field research, and from a number of other smaller local meetings held for specific purposes; word processed records from two other locally specific meetings observed.
- Field observations and occasional sketch maps recorded in notebooks and diaries, supplemented by photographs.

Table 4.3 (overleaf) provides full details of the numbers of interviews and field visits undertaken in different municipalities at each stage and of the field research, and including the three small-scale surveys. Explanatory notes are given below.

- i. The first stage sought to obtain an overview of the development dynamics of the whole of the Jiquiriçá valley by visiting and interviewing informants in all of its different sub-regions. Interview coverage of the other eight municipalities was not possible for logistical reasons. Full details of the interview coverage were discussed earlier, in section 4.2.6.

Table 4.3 Interviews and field visits undertaken in Jiquiriçá valley municipalities in each stage of fieldwork and each small scale survey component

Municipalities	Coverage in First Stage		Coverage in 2 nd Stage			
	Interviews	Field visits	Rural Communities Survey	Traders Survey respondents	Network study respondents	Supplementary interviews / field visits
Mutuípe	9 (5 also regional actors) 1 focus group	2 villages 1 private farm 1 peri-urban group 1 market visit	5 village field visits plus focus groups	11	7 (4 also regional actors)	4 interviews (1 trader; 1 community worker, 2 local historians); 1 biscuit factory
Jiquiriçá	4		3 village field visits plus focus groups	11	4	1 private farm & distillery; 1 interview
Ubaíra	3 (2 also regional actors)	2 villages 1 land reform settlement	4 village field visits plus focus groups	8	4 (1 also a regional actor)	1 industrial shoe factory; 1 artisanal cheese factory
Santa Inês	1 (also a regional actor)	1 land reform settlement	<i>The only farming communities were land reform groups</i>	5	6 (2 also regional actors)	1 urban field visit and 1 focus group
Cravolândia		1 land reform settlement	2 village field visits plus focus groups	<i>No appreciable formal trade in Cravolandia.</i>	2	Return visit to land reform settlement
Laje	2 (1 also regional actor) 1 focus group	1 private farm			1 regional actor	
Sao Miguel da Matas	3	1 village 1 cassava packaging plant				
Amargosa	4 (1 also regional actor)	1 peri-urban farm project 1 dairy 1 market visit			1 regional actor	
Brejões	2 1 focus group	1 private farm 1 market visit				
Jaguaquara	2	1 wholesale market visit; 1 land reform settlement & short tour of private farms				
Maracas	3 (1 provided project level information only)	1 peri-urban farm project 1 land reform settlement				
Itiruçu	1					
Planaltino					1 regional actor	1 interview
<i>State level actors</i>					2 regional actors	5 interviews (1 regional ; 4 state level actors)
TOTALS	34 (10 regional actors) 3 focus groups	24 field visits	14 village community visits plus focus groups	35 respondents	28 respondents (8 also included in first stage)	11 interviews 6 field visits

- ii. The second stage of field research focused on five focus municipalities: Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Santa Ines and Cravolândia. The first four of these were also covered in the first stage, and had the densest overall coverage. Cravolândia, a very small municipality created by subdividing Santa Ines, was not really covered in the first stage.
- iii. These five are placed first in the table, followed by other municipalities in the forest and transitional zones in the east and centre of the valley, and then by three municipalities in the west of the valley falling into the semi-arid and transition zones. The listing reflects the approximate sequencing of coverage and travel during the first stage of field research.
- iv. The higher frequency of interviews in Mutuípe as compared with other municipalities is explained partly by the fact that it was base for the field research, but also by the concentration of territorial-level actors based there, and the strength of social networks in this municipality. These factors facilitated access to informants.

4.3.8 The role and deployment of research assistants

The complexity of the research project linked to the methodological framework and overall design of the RTD programme, together with the requirements for obtaining and recompiling elements of quantitative sources and conducting field research in an area of complex topography and geographical variation comprising 21 Municipalities with a population of over 300, 000 entailed establishment of a small research team. Thanks to the collaboration of researchers at an agrarian research group at the Geosciences Institute (my initial collaborators in the RTD programme), and specifically of one researcher in the group who relocated to UFRB close to the research area, a group of four part time research assistants were identified.

An UFBA Masters student in Economics assisted in obtaining and compiling some of the *secondary* data during the first phase of research. For the field research I was assisted by:

- A completing Masters Student in Geography and Regional Development at UNEB, resident in the research area. She became my principal local field assistant.
- An Agronomy undergraduate from UFRB, also resident in the area, assisted with some of the field data collection in his local municipalities (he was native to one, Santa Ines, and lived in another, Jiquiriçá)

- A recently completed UFRB Agronomy graduate, also resident in the area and also working occasionally as a technical assistant to local rural union organisations, municipalities and the territorial development collegiate forum.

The first two of these research assistants participated in this first stage of field data collection after being familiarised with the objectives and the content of the checklist, in order to gain experience of a semi-structured interview process which aimed simultaneously to elicit informants' opinions in relation to the topics and gather information they held about development processes, trends, projects and policy issues in their particular locations or the Jiquiriçá valley more broadly. As part of their training, the research assistants also took part in discussion of how to refine the checklist and improve the management of the interviews. The third of these assistants was recruited during the second stage of field research as a result of limited availability of the first two for fieldwork. He assisted in planning and implementing the field research for all three of the small-scale surveys in Ubaíra, the municipality from which his family were from and where he had a good network of contacts.

I was solely and entirely responsible for the necessary familiarisation, training and management, of this team in relation to my research. My fluency in Portuguese and prior experience in Brazil enabled me to operate successfully in Bahia and in the research area and to interact effectively with all informants and with this team of assistants, who provided invaluable support and advice and suggestions based on their local knowledge of the area and networks of contacts. The perhaps unusually large number of research assistants for a doctoral research project was due to the fact that they were all only available on a part time basis because of study, working and family commitments. No one assistant was available to participate systematically throughout the research, necessitating careful management of the programme and supervision of data collection and compilation that they conducted. The three field assistants together provided good local knowledge based on their native origins and residency in the research area and their own networks of local contacts in each of the five municipalities identified for more in-depth investigation. They were also motivated to gain additional knowledge and experience in research techniques and analytical perspectives to supplement their own studies and bring to light new information and perspectives on their home areas.

Chapter 5. AGRICULTURAL MARKETS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE JIQUIRIÇÁ VALLEY

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter Three, the Jiquiriçá valley has been historically important as a production centre for a wide range of agricultural commodities, close to the regional population centre of Salvador and a variety of export markets. The valley displayed a positive performance in terms of growth, poverty reduction and social inclusion, reflected in generally convergent, positive trends in the census indicators for average incomes, poverty levels and income distributions from 1991 onwards. As shown in Table 3.2. and Figure 3.4 in Chapter 3, a majority of 16 of the valley's 21 municipalities combined growth with poverty reduction, while a while a contiguous cluster of 11 municipalities also reduced income inequalities; suggesting that a common dynamic of socially inclusive economic growth was underway in much of the valley. However the initial field reconnaissance and review of available information conducted at the outset of the research also showed that the Jiquiriçá valley is environmentally and climatically diverse with considerable regional variation in productive and socio-economic conditions and a number of different sub-regional urban centres.

Having set the context in Chapter Three, this chapter addresses the first principal research question: *What combination of factors have led the majority of the municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley to exhibit apparently positive development trends from the 1990s onwards, which combine growth with poverty reduction and for a large contiguous cluster of municipalities, also reduced inequalities?*

In responding to this question it is necessary to address a number of more specific questions:

- To confirm whether or not the Jiquiriçá valley, or particular clusters of municipalities within it in fact exhibit uniformly positive development trends and ascertain the real nature of the development processes underlying the census data,
- To identify the roles played by different factors in driving development processes in the valley. Preliminary analysis of findings from a first set of case study investigations commissioned by the RTD programme (Berdegué *et al.* 2010) suggested that seven types of factors, only some of which may be present in any one case, can be expected to play

important roles. These factors are: (i) natural resource endowments or natural capital; (ii) access to and distribution of productive assets, (iii) linkages do dynamic markets; (iv) diversification of the local economy; (v) linkages to urban areas; (iv) public investments and state interventions; and (v) the presence of social coalitions able to influence the development of institutions that structure and mediate the impact of these multiple factors. Accordingly the field investigation aimed to establish the extent to which these different factors were operative in the valley, and how their geographical variations in these factors affected development outcomes both by examining available secondary data and from the perspectives of local informants.

In addition, this chapter considers the environmental impacts of growth and development in the valley, as the research also sought to contribute to one of the RTD programme's original concerns, to establish the conditions under which territorial dynamics of socially inclusive growth can also be environmentally sustainable. Although adequate data sources were not available for the RTD programme to select case study areas based on trends towards greater environmental sustainability, initial reconnaissance in the valley suggested that the impacts of agricultural development may not be overwhelmingly negative and that some improvements in sustainability were underway. Accordingly it was necessary to assess the environmental trends and processes of change underway, and how these are affected by the principle factors driving development dynamics of the area based on empirical findings and the limited secondary data and literature available.

This chapter aims to characterise the real nature of the development trends and their variations across the valley, and to explain how and why positive combinations of outcomes have occurred, focussing on the role and impacts of geographical and environmental factors, market development, agrarian structure and access to assets, urban linkages, and public policies and spending. The role of social coalitions, a key dimension highlighted by the RTD programme in bringing about institutional changes, is assessed and discussed in Chapter Six.

These research objectives are addressed by bringing together and analysing two sets of data:

- a) Data derived from successive Agricultural Censuses (1995/96 and 2006/07) and municipal data on changes over time in agricultural production, marketed output, land-ownership and distribution and the performance of the agricultural and service sectors for

selected municipalities of the valley, together with historical material and additional secondary data gathered during field research; and

- b) Empirical data gathered through key informant interviews throughout then field research and from the surveys of rural communities and urban traders conducted in the five focus municipalities in the second stage of field research.

The secondary data and empirical findings that are most relevant to understanding the valley's economic performance, together with informants' views on the impacts of different driving factors on income and wealth generation and reduction of poverty, are compiled and discussed together presented in the text. Triangulation of the primary and secondary data showed them to be broadly convergent and enabled development of an analytic and empirically informed narrative account on the development of agriculture, agricultural markets, other economic sectors and rural livelihoods in the valley.

The framework for analysis draws on the concepts presented in Chapter Two, in particular on theories in economic geography which emphasise the importance of "hard" factors of physical productive capabilities, locational features and infrastructure in relation to developing markets (Krugman 1996) and on approaches in economic sociology which focus on the roles played by "soft" social, institutional and policy factors such as the distribution of property rights, the social structure and governance of markets (Fligstein 2002; Bourdieu 2001, 1991; Granovetter 1991), and the effects of public policies (Bonnal and Kato 2011). The account developed explores the balance and interplay in the broader Brazilian context of these different types of factors and based on the evidence compiled finds that an integrated perspective combining insights from the new economic geography and from recent economic sociology is required to explain the concentration of development outcomes combining growth, poverty reduction and improvements in social equality resulting from what are in fact multiple development trajectories (Massey 2003) observed amongst the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley.

The narrative developed provides a detailed discussion of the interplay of different features and factors driving the Jiquiriçá valley's development, which are, discussed in turn:

Section 5.2 presents a primarily descriptive account of the development of agricultural markets (notably for cocoa and coffee, but also others products), and the impacts that market changes have had on different parts of the valley. This is based on the secondary data and available literature assesses the agricultural development trajectories encountered within the valley, introducing some of the fieldwork findings. Section 5.3 then reviews small farmers' responses to changing market conditions and presents the rural communities' survey findings in relation to agricultural livelihoods in greater depth.

Section 5.4 considers the effects of variations in the structure of land holding on agricultural development and rural livelihoods in different parts of the case study area, including the concentration of small-scale family farming and the process of land subdivision in the forest belt and the constraints imposed by the predominance of traditional large-scale *latifundia* elsewhere. A comparative analysis of the dynamics of agricultural change in selected municipalities included and the relationship of variations in agrarian structure to changes in municipal agricultural GDP and output of major crops is developed.

Section 5.5 discusses the different sources of incomes, livelihoods and employment available to rural people, including family farming, informal wage labour, and migration, and sets out the different types of livelihood trajectory encountered, with reference to the findings of the rural communities' survey and key informant interviews.

Section 5.6 assesses the environmental impacts costs of agricultural development, which threaten to undermine the sustainability of agricultural production, and the integrity of its natural assets and environmental services as a basis for human welfare, and for diversification of the rural economy, for instance through investments in tourism and conservation. The principal findings of a specific investigation undertaken on request of the RTD programme are reported.

Section 5.7 discusses the effects of federal policy and public investment on development outcomes, including the effects of agrarian development policies that support small-scale farming, social income transfers, and federal support for decentralised municipal budgets.

Section 5.8 presents the detailed results of the survey of urban traders and assesses the development of the trade and service sector in different municipalities in the valley, and discusses their dependence on agriculture and on public policies and spending.

Section 5.9 recapitulates the main findings to develop an explanatory account of the development trends and outcomes and the distinct development trajectories identified in different parts of the valley, including the continuing development trends revealed by the 2010 census data. The chapter concludes with a synthetic, theoretically informed discussion of how different factors have interacted to produce distinct development trajectories in different parts of the valley, and summarises the main findings.

5.2 Growth and change in agricultural production and markets

This section describes in turn the changes in markets for coffee, cocoa, the other principle crops of bananas and cassava, horticultural and semi-arid crops, and livestock products and the effects that these have had in the Jiquiriçá valley. The valley's early history of settlement and agrarian development, summarised in Chapter 3, set the stage for its subsequent growth and development during the 20th Century. Changing agricultural markets have played a central role in this process, affecting different parts of the valley differently according to their productive capabilities and the organisation of land use.

The growth and development of the Jiquiriçá valley during the 20th Century was characterised by boom and bust cycles of major cash crops, resulting from changes in demand, price volatility, declines in productivity and quality, and the emergence of competing countries and regions. Since the mid-20th Century, coffee and cocoa have been the valley's major cash crops. Each has brought prosperity to different parts of the valley and different social groups; prosperity which in the case of coffee has not proved sustainable.

In the lower forested portion of the valley, high rainfall, good availability of land and labour, and the rapid spread of a wide range of crops enabled small farmers to adapt to changing markets. Cocoa has become the predominant cash crop, despite a period of crisis, but a variety of other crops are also important. However, in the lower rainfall transitional and semi-arid portions of the valley, the predominantly large-scale coffee- and cattle-based production systems have proved much less adaptable and resilient. Marketed output of both cocoa and coffee reached peaks in the early 1990s, and both subsequently fell. Cocoa subsequently recovered, but coffee did not, although other smallholder crops have continued to expand.

Since 2000 agricultural production as a whole in the Jiquiriçá valley has grown in response to overall growth of market demand, in terms of both planted area and overall value. Table 5.1,

below, shows the changes from 2000 to 2007 in planted areas, output and value of the principle crops produced in the Jiquiriçá Valley, based on municipal data compiled by IBGE. Disaggregation of data by municipality reveals distinctive trends in different parts of the valley. The main growth has been in cocoa, bananas and cassava, produced by small and medium farmers in the forest zone. Coffee, now confined to higher altitude transitional areas, has declined in volume (although increasing in value and slightly in area) and fruit production, particularly passion fruit, and horticulture have expanded in Jaguaquara and surrounding areas in the valley's transitional agro-ecological zone.

Table 5.1 Principal crops of the Jiquiriçá Valley: planted area, outputs and market values 2000 and 2007³⁷ (Source: IBGE / Municipal Agricultural Research – PAM - *Pesquisa Agrícola Municipal*)

Principal crops	2000			2007		
	Area (ha)	Production (metric tons)	Value R\$1000	Area (ha)	Production (metric tons)	Value R\$1000
Cassava	23212	326253	26363	30214	469077	69775
Cacau (beans)	15641	6635	9980	19638	9556	37288
Banana	1910	2116	2385	5151	69459	27609
Coffee (beans)	13151	12243	22848	15267	10395	37219
Passion Fruit	2209	253720	11318	2596	33963	13121
Sugar cane	756	47340	4074	911	49950	8698
Tomato	1710	56600	21919	632	22065	11659
Oranges	260	15426	464	856	16461	3402
Pineapple	200	5100	1558	220	4362	2591
Beans	3773	2020	1230	1902	1371	3411
Sisal /agave	2010	1407	267	1334	940	940
Maize	1218	683	116	1015	769	326
TOTAL (all crops)	68135	744878	105658	81180	693958	218548

5.2.1 Coffee

Following concentration on tobacco in the 19th century, in the 20th century coffee emerged as the dominant commercial crop for both large and small farmers, as a result of growing domestic and international demand. The region's suitability for coffee and its export potential was the principal reason for development of the Jiquiriçá Valley railway, which facilitated bulk exports of processed beans also aiding the seasonal movement of migrant workers required by the coffee estates (de Jesus 2006). Following construction of the railway coffee

³⁷ Production value is determined by multiplying average unit farm gate prices paid to producers for particular products in a given state multiplied by the total output recorded. Average unit prices are determined by IBGE (see: http://seriesestatisticas.ibge.gov.br/pdfs/definicoes_economicas.pdf). Values have been adjusted for inflation by IBGE and are displayed in constant terms, based on the 2007 values. The values of cocoa and coffee are determined by international prices.

production expanded significantly. Planting was dominated by land owning families who developed large coffee estates and processing factories, notably in the municipalities of Brejões, Amargosa, Ubaíra and Santa Inês and Cravolândia. These families became major employers and the dominant local economic actors, also buying up smallholder coffee in the valley's mid-altitude forest and transitional areas. Coffee roasting businesses developed in various municipal centres, supplying local and regional markets with locally branded coffee.

Beginning in the 1930s, coffee suffered a series of crises due to global over-production, price collapses, and phytosanitary problems, eventually leading to its long term decline in the valley. Policy focused on consolidating irrigated mechanised production in more suitable regions (São Paulo, Minas Gerais and more recently the West of Bahia), and provision of credit. Technical assistance and marketing support were withdrawn from lower potential regions in a series of coffee “eradication” campaigns. The state destroyed coffee stocks and prohibited new planting during the 1930s to protect the industry from the effects of the “great crash” of 1929, leading to fragmentation of larger coffee estates, and partial substitution of coffee by cattle farming (Martins 2008). This created opportunities for entry of more adaptable and diversified small and medium-scale producers in the Jiquiriçá valley, including a dynamic group of Italian immigrant farmers in Itiruçu and Jaguaquara in the 1940s. However coffee pests and diseases that thrived under local climatic conditions continued to frustrate recovery. In 1962 the government established the *Grupo Executivo de Racionalização da Cafeicultura* (GERCA) which set out a coffee eradication programme targeting regions with productivity below 6 sacks per 1000 bushes. In 1967 support for coffee was restricted to altitudes above 700 metres to contain the spread of coffee rust disease. Credit was directed to specific municipalities with farms at this altitude or above and capable of irrigation and mechanical processing and harvesting (Almeida 2008)³⁸. As a result of these policies, coffee entered a cycle of decline in Ubaíra, Santa Ines and Cravolândia³⁹, where coffee estates are now abandoned, converted to pasture or handed over for land reform. The measures further undermined small-scale coffee production and favoured concentration in large estates located in the upland plateaux of the Jiquiriçá valley's transition zone, in the Municipalities of Brejões, Itiruçu, Jaguaquara, Lajedo de Tabocal and Maracás.

³⁸ Information provided by Eng. Eduardo, EBDA and former IBC agronomist in the region interviewed in Santa Ines on 29 July 2010.

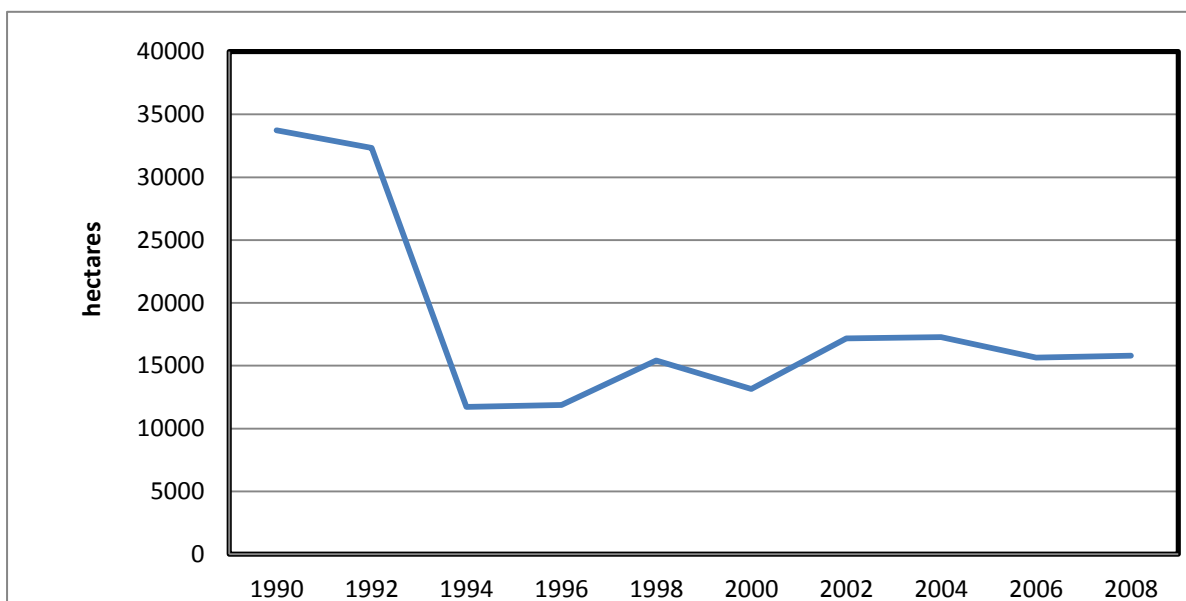
³⁹ The Municipality of Cravolândia was created from the larger Municipality of Santa Ines and was dominated by the presence of a single 4,327 hectare coffee estate, Palestina, owned by the wealthy Cravo family. In 1998 the Palestina estate became a land reform settlement, one of the largest in the region

There were sporadic attempts by IBC, (*Instituto Brasileiro de Café*) to revitalise coffee production amongst small and medium-scale farmers in higher altitude areas of these and other municipalities, but these were undermined by a sharp fall of coffee prices in the early 1990s which led to decapitalisation of the coffee industry in Bahia. In the rural communities’ survey, four farming communities visited in the transition zone and one higher altitude community in the forest zone reported attempts to re-establish coffee as a cash crop in the 1990s. These projects either failed to produce a marketable crop, or to generate adequate returns as a result of low yields and low prices⁴⁰. In one such location coffee was described as:

“um bem da raiz falsificada” (a “false” perennial crop)...*there are times when it brings no return, the price is not good enough to cover the expenses*⁴¹.

Although cultivated areas have increased slightly since their lowest point in 1994, they remain less than half of the areas under coffee prior to 1990, as shown in Figure 5.1

Fig. 5.1 Trends in areas under coffee cultivation in the Jiquiriçá Valley 1990 - 2008
(source: IBGE Municipal Agricultural Research – PAM - - *Pesquisa Agrícola Municipal*)



The decline of coffee in Brejões municipality, formerly the principal centre of coffee production in the Jiquiriçá valley is detailed in Box 1, overleaf.

⁴⁰ Information provided to the field survey of rural communities in July 2011 by farmers from Rua da Palha in Mutuípe; Riacho das Pedras and Cachoerinha in Ubaíra and Riacho de Palmeira in Cravolândia.

⁴¹ Discussion with a group of farmers in Cachoerinha, Ubaíra on 21 August 2010

Box 1. The decline of coffee in Brejões

In 2009 credit and technical support for coffee was withheld from Brejões, the Jiquiriçá valley's principle coffee producing area since the 1970s which was considered inappropriate for high yield, mechanised production due to an average of 900 mm annual rainfall, falling below the Ministry of Agriculture criterion of minimum 1200 annual rainfall⁴².

Officials in Brejões described how the rapid decline of the coffee monoculture had resulted in virtual collapse of the local economy, and impoverishment of remaining medium and large-scale producers, who had formally registered as family farmers in order to guarantee pension rights⁴³. The settlement known as *Kilometro Cem*, on the BR 116 highway which had grown up as a market centre and dormitory town for seasonal coffee workers, was said to have become a focus of urban poverty and associated violence. The municipal population had declined by 33% from around 15,000 to 10,000, and the majority of skilled coffee workers had migrated to Barreiras in the western Bahia or Minas Gerais, where investments commercial coffee production were now concentrated. Brejões no longer receives any public or private productive investment, and the survival of local trade is now largely dependent on Federal financial transfers that support approximately 800 municipal employees and some 1600 families in receipt of *bolsa familia* welfare payments. Care of coffee bushes has also been abandoned on family land holdings and coffee mills built by state government in the 1990s to service the family sector have ceased to function. Small-scale production continues at very low levels (described by informants as “equivalent to extractive production”) in which the cherries are harvested and sold in small quantities once a year.

The valley's single largest coffee producer, Agribahia in Brejões, acquired by Portuguese interests in 1980 and now faces severe difficulties. On its largest estate, the 4,800 ha *Fazenda Lagoa de Morro*, the company formerly employed over 7,000 people on 2,300 cultivated hectares to harvest approximately 90,000 sacks of coffee. The estate manager cited the high cost of labour due to increases in the minimum wage and the prevalence of welfare payments and the costs of meeting health and safety requirements of labour legislation as principal factors reducing margins below the minimum level to maintain operations⁴⁴. Additional problems cited were rainfall variability, difficulties of irrigation due to salinization of groundwater, and steep rises in input costs in general relative to relatively small increases in coffee prices. Only 1,300 ha remains under coffee, in 2008 the harvest was restricted to 400 ha of low producing, unmaintained bushes employing 1,400 labourers during one week only, and one of the world's largest coffee processing factories is now all but abandoned.

⁴² The Ministry of Agriculture's 2009 mapping of zones eligible for federal credit or harvest insurance for coffee, was based on standardised data sets for soil types, rainfall and temperature conditions. In the Jiquiriçá valley, Brejões, and other traditional coffee producing municipalities were excluded from the zoning. COPLAN found that these measures were already causing problems for coffee producers, but having worked with local coffee producers for 15 years, believed that field assessment would demonstrate that the municipality should be eligible for support. (letter from COPLAN to the Prefect of Brejões on 22 February 2010 citing Ministry of Agriculture *Portaria* Number 192/2009, www.agricultura.gov.br).

⁴³ Focus group discussion held with Sr Eudorico, agronomist and former Secretary of Agriculture for Brejões, and other local officials, 26 March 2010

⁴⁴ Interview with Sr Lessivan Pacheco, Manager of Agribahia's *Fazenda Lagoa do Morro* estate in Brejões, 26 March 2010.

Improving wage rates and tighter labour legislation narrowed profit margins further from the mid-1990s onwards, and remaining large coffee estates in the valley collapsed. According to municipal agricultural data compiled by SEI, the Bahia State Government's statistical agency, coffee cultivation in the valley declined by almost two thirds from nearly 35,000 ha in 1990 to around 12,000 ha in 1994, and production fell from over 26,000 tonnes in 1990 to 12,000 tonnes in 2000. Since 2000 coffee prices and the value of overall value of the valley's output have improved, with modest increase in cultivated area, but production is now generally extensive with very low yields. Output continued to fall to just over 10,000 tonnes in 2008 as coffee producers continued to sell off land or put it up for redistribution.

According to IBGE 1995/96 and 2006/07 IBGE Agricultural Census data, the total number of farms, dropped by 40% in Brejões which lost 8,000 hectares in productive area, changes which involved farms of all size classes. Another municipality hit badly by the decline and eradication of coffee is Santa Ines, which today has virtually no rural population and the most concentrated land holdings in the valley, largely given over to cattle, alongside high levels of urban unemployment and outmigration amongst families formerly reliant on seasonal labour on coffee plantations.

Remaining coffee production is now concentrated in the municipalities of Lajedo de Tabocal, Itiruçu and Jaguaquara alongside residual production in Brejões. Some producers have successfully diversified into horticulture and passion fruit production, which together represented 63.4% of the cultivated area of these municipalities in 2008, according to IBGE municipal production data. Only two small-scale local coffee roasters remain, in Armargosa and Itiruçu.

5.2.2 Cocoa

Cocoa introduced spontaneously by farmers and has been cultivated in the Jiquiriçá valley for over 60 years. It is now the principal commercial crop in the eastern forest zone and the most important crop in the region. The expansion of cocoa is due primarily to the activity of CEPLAC (*Comissão Executiva do Plano de Lavoura Cacaueira*) in the region since 1969, the national cocoa research and development agency. In response to requests from farmers and local authorities, CEPLAC conducted experimental cocoa production on an estate in Jiquiriçá and following surprisingly positive results opened a regional office in Mutuípe in

1972, to support production of cocoa and other high value tropical crops⁴⁵. The good local productivity of cocoa results from favourable local soil and climatic conditions, in spite of relatively low soil fertility compared with the south of Bahia, the principle cocoa producing region in Brazil, where production was dominated by small and medium farmers.

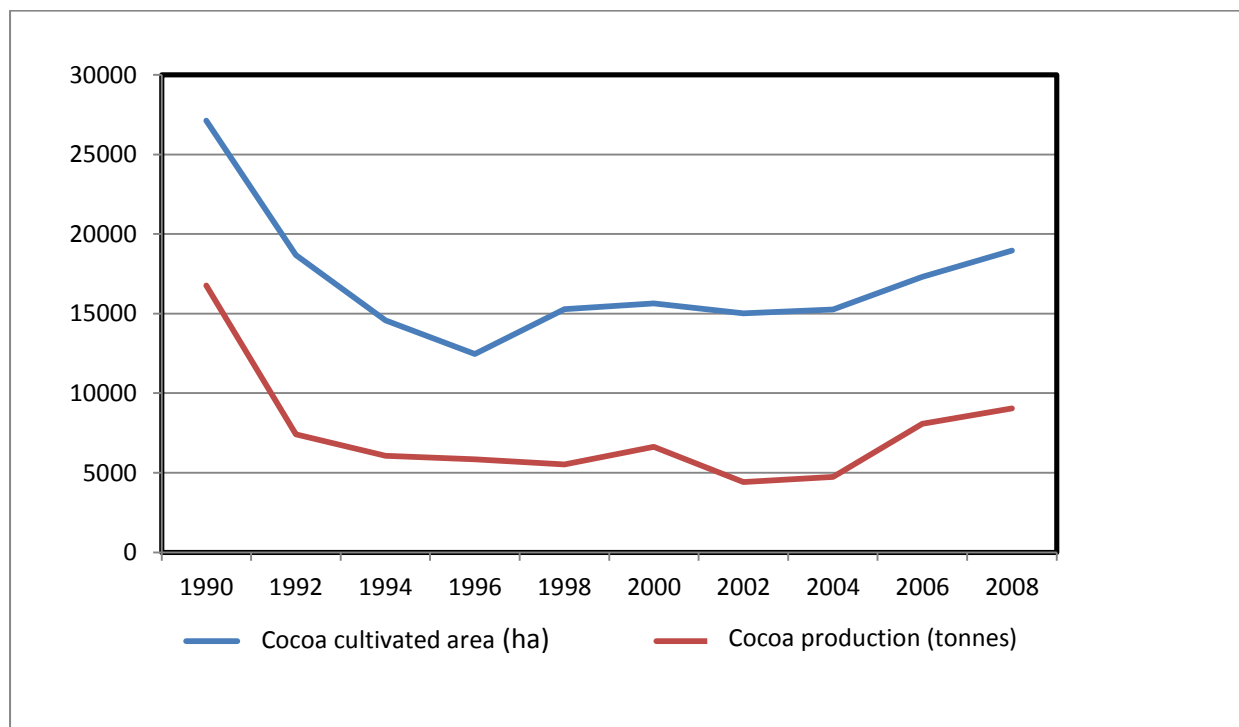
CEPLAC provided credit and technical assistance, concentrating on soil fertility and agro-chemical pest control. Cocoa was widely adopted by small and medium-scale farmers in the valley farmers, substituting for tobacco, coffee and cattle as a primary income source and the valley became established as a secondary production centre. As international prices rose, the 1970s and 1980s became known as the “golden age of cocoa” and Brazil consolidated its role as the principal global producer. The cocoa market developed to supply the cocoa processing and chocolate industry in the South of Bahia, necessitating a network of local buyers, wholesalers and transporters across the region. As a result of this market, cocoa became a major source of prosperity in those parts of the Jiquiriçá valley where it could be grown. The relatively open agrarian structure in the valley’s forest zone, with large numbers of small family farmers, enabled poor rural communities to benefit directly from the cocoa boom, unlike the South, where production was dominated by large-scale farmers.

Cocoa underwent sustained growth in the region until the late 1980s after which production in Brazil underwent a severe crisis, provoked initially by declines in world prices, following global expansion of production and emergence of competitor regions, notably in West Africa and Indonesia. From the mid-1990s onwards the crisis deepened with the appearance and spread of the fungal disease known as Witches broom (*Moniliophthora perniciosa*) originating in Amazonia, which drastically reduced productivity. The disease caused a collapse of production in the South of Bahia, with negative impacts on the quality and reputation of Brazilian cocoa. Although production did fall substantially in the Jiquiriçá valley, the spread of Witches broom has proven much more gradual under specific local soil and micro-climatic conditions, compared with the higher levels of humidity encountered in the south of Bahia and in Amazonia. In addition the practice of predominantly small-scale cocoa farmers in the Jiquiriçá valley are for manual control of the spread of the fungus by cutting, removing and burning infected plant material, using family and community labour. In

⁴⁵ Information provided by Dr Celso Weber, regional manager of CEPLAC and vice Prefect of Mutuípe, interviewed on 4 August 2009. Crops now also promoted by CEPLAC now include a number of specialist high value products, notably spices such as cloves and black pepper, latex, açaí, guaraná (these two crops provide natural nutritional supplements and stimulants utilised in various products popular in Brazil) urucôm (a natural red dyestuff), and a variety commercially valuable of indigenous and exotic tropical fruits.

contrast to the South of Bahia, in the family farming systems of the Jiquiriçá valley cocoa is produced in direct association with other crops, notably bananas and tropical fruit trees which provide shade at different stages of the cocoa plants' development. In addition the characteristically undulating terrain does not favour mechanisation and the establishment of a cocoa monoculture. As a result of these factors, production was not abandoned in the region, as it continued to generate reasonable returns. Cocoa-based family farming systems proved relatively resilient, since cocoa was supplemented by a range of other commercial and subsistence crops, and by provision of casual labour to neighbours and to larger farms. Today the great majority of small-scale farmers in the eastern part of the valley retain 2 to 3 hectares of manually produced and harvested cocoa. Trends in land area under cocoa and marketed outputs from 1990 to 2008 are shown in Figure 5.2.

Fig.5.2 Trends in cocoa production in the Jiquiriçá Valley 1990 - 2008 (source: IBGE Municipal Agricultural Research – PAM – *Pesquisa Agricola Municipal*)



In the late 1990s, cocoa prices began to recover from the low levels of the previous decade, reaching a peak of R\$180 / arroba⁴⁶ in 2001, and bringing high returns to farmers who could

⁴⁶ Cocoa prices are as reported by CEPLAC and by cocoa traders and farmers during interview undertaken. R\$ 180 is equivalent to US\$140 at an exchange rate of 1.3 Real to the US Dollar. Local prices vary daily, according to Dollar – Real exchange rates and global market demand. An *arroba* is a standard measure for cocoa, equivalent to a sack weighing 15 kg, and often represented by the “@” symbol.

afford additional labour to control *witches broom* and substitute older trees with resistant clonal varieties promoted by CEPLAC. Although prices later dropped to R\$ 60–70 /arroba in the mid-2000s, expansion resumed as prices improved to R\$80 - 90 / arroba in 2009-2010⁴⁷. Today the majority of farmers in the eastern valley retain groves of up to two to three hectares of manually produced and harvested cocoa.

As a result of *witches broom* and abandonment of cocoa in the South of Bahia, Brazil's national output no longer meets installed processing capacity, and the industry has no incentive to install local processing facilities in the Jiquiriçá valley. Substantial profit margins are made by cocoa wholesalers who buy up smallholder cocoa for transport and sale to industrial buyers. A handful of cocoa traders concentrated in Mutuípe have become dominant local value chain actors, partially integrated in primary production by acquiring and operating the larger cocoa farms in the region. They pay spot prices to small farmers, who, without good market information and communications, are unable to keep track of global price movements that determine daily fluctuations in producer prices. Because farmers' organisation and marketing are weak (confined to informal transport sharing arrangements to get cocoa to urban centres, sometimes enabling modest increases above farm gate prices), they are unable to compete with private sector marketing capability.

The existing market culture for cocoa is tied in to a set of shared expectations and practices amongst producers and value chain actors about how business is conducted, and although farmers may complain about prices or lack of direct access to markets, farmer – trader relations are in many cases long established reciprocal and collaborative – if also paternalistic and unequal – social relations which extend beyond the sale of cocoa, and often involving family ties.

Cocoa traders also control input markets by buying and selling-on fertilizers and agrochemicals and they supply credit by advancing inputs and cash to farmers against the anticipated harvest value. Drying and fermentation, required to provide a less perishable product for storage, are carried out on-farm, but no further value is added locally, except by small-scale household production of cocoa powder, sweets, juice, frozen pulp and liqueur derived from the fruits. No price premium is paid for higher quality beans, so producers have

⁴⁷ Prices quoted in this paragraph are approximate values given by Dr Celso Weber, regional manager for CEPLAC and other CEPLAC employees during discussions held in July 2009 and March 2010, and subsequently corroborated in conversation with cocoa traders and farmers.

no incentives to quality-control the drying process. Moreover, since most producers are locked into reliance on inorganic fertilizers and agrochemicals, they have no opportunities to develop niche markets for organic or high quality varietal beans.

Small-scale farmers' views on cocoa production gathered during fieldwork are summarised in Box 2, below.

Box 2. Cocoa production as reported by small-scale farmers

Of 14 farming communities visited in the forest zone during fieldwork, ten reported that cocoa was the most important crop, providing the greater share of agricultural incomes. For the other four communities, located in higher altitude areas less suitable for cocoa, it was nevertheless the second or third most important crop, after bananas, cassava or vegetables. For all of these farming communities cocoa productivity was reported to be constrained by limited access to fertilizers and to clonal, disease resistant planting material, which, in turn, depends on access to sufficient cash income to purchase these inputs. As a result of reliance on unimproved cocoa, yields remain relatively low. Cocoa farmers in two locations in Mutuípe reported producing around 25 @ (arroba)⁴⁸ on average, from plots below 1 ha in size, whereas those with smaller land holdings produced significantly less.

Farmers located nearer to urban centres, within better reach of CEPLAC extension advisory services and better access to new planting material, from the town of Mutuípe, the residents association reported that a small number of farmers with over 3 hectares of clonal cocoa were able to produce between 100 and 150@. In all cocoa producing communities visited, farmers marketed their crop direct to cocoa buyers' warehouses in municipal towns, using transport hired locally from friends and neighbours. Profits from cocoa have enabled farmers to invest in acquiring their own cars, motorbikes and consumer goods, or in some cases to establish small-scale businesses.

All cocoa farmers interviewed agreed that prices and returns had been much greater in the late 1990s and early 2000s, but that despite the subsequent price collapse cocoa remained the most important cash crop, and prices were now recovering. In relation to *Witches Broom*, the overall picture was one of co-existence with the disease, which was said to spread slowly under local conditions. Despite low yields, small farmers preferred to maintain traditional varieties, using family labour to clear and burn infected material as it appeared, due to the higher costs and more complex management and chemical input requirements of clonal varieties.

⁴⁸ An *arroba*, represented by the "@" symbol, is a traditional Spanish and Portuguese measure for traded farm commodities still widely used in Latin America in the cocoa trade and for other associated high value crops. It is more a measure of volume than weight corresponding to a standard gunny sack when filled with cocoa beans and thus somewhat variable in practice. According to local cocoa traders it is equivalent to approximately 15 kg of cocoa beans.

Cocoa production in Bahia is highly vulnerable to price volatility, but the predominance of small-scale land-ownership together with the relatively limited impacts of Witches Broom disease appear to be key factors explaining its resilience in the Jiquiriçá valley. Whereas larger farmers have tended to switch in and out of cocoa, converting orchards to pasture following the decline of prices since 2011, and subsequently replanting, small-scale farmers, able to utilise household labour to maintain and harvest small areas of cocoa, and with insufficient land for cattle raising, have higher incentives to retain cocoa as a cash crop despite the variable returns. Lack of collective organisation, however, has prevented farmers from capturing greater gains from cocoa trade; without mechanisms to encourage stronger market engagement, adding value or quality improvements, small cocoa farmers have difficulties maintaining minimal margins when cocoa prices are low.

5.2.3 Other agricultural crops

Bananas, cassava, horticultural crops and cattle are all important in the Jiquiriçá valley in terms of land areas, production values and farmer incomes. Certain municipalities and sub-regions of the valley tend to specialise in particular crops, according to land suitability and the ways in which markets have developed. As the major wholesale and retail markets for bananas, cassava, fruit, vegetables, meat and dairy produce are located in relatively distant regional towns (Feira de Santana, Santo Antonio de Jesus, Jequié and Salvador), small farmers rely on sales to intermediaries to transport crops produce to wholesale markets, or on their own efforts to get produce to local weekly markets for direct sale to consumers.

Bananas

Bananas are grown in association with cocoa as shade crops for maturing seedlings, and as a separate commercial crop, mainly in the forest and transitional zones. Production fell during the 1990s, alongside falls in cocoa production due to Witches Broom disease, but both planted areas and output have expanded greatly since 2000, particularly in Amargosa, now a wholesale market centre for bananas, and also in Mutuípe, Ubaíra and Jaguaquara, a major regional horticultural market centre.

For 12 of the farming communities assessed during fieldwork in the forest and transitional zones, bananas were ranked as the most important crop for income generation in three cases, second most important in five cases, and the third most important crop in four cases. In all cases where bananas were ranked 2nd or 3rd they were grown in direct association with cocoa

to provide shade cover for cocoa seedlings. Bananas were more important than cocoa for farmers in transitional areas and higher altitudes in the forest zone, less suitable for cocoa.

In all cases assessed, small farmers reported selling bananas to intermediary transporters, owing to the high volume and weight of the crop. Farmers invariably complained about price fixing and cheating by transporters who they relied on to access markets. In the forest zone bananas were destined for the local wholesale centre in Amargosa, or sometimes the larger more distant market centre of Feira de Santana. Bananas in Ubaíra and elsewhere in the transition zone were marketed via Jaguaquara.

In the forest zone, some farmers specialise in bananas, as a relatively high value crop which is quicker to establish. Some pursue aggressive, illegal and environmentally destructive planting strategies, utilising chemical herbicides to clear remaining primary forest to establish plantations. Farmers visited at Duas Barras de Fojo and also at Andaiá (both in Mutuípe municipality) pointed out a series of recently cleared hilltops and adjacent remaining patches of Atlantic forest where banana plantations were in the process of being established. This practice was attributed to small and medium-scale commercial farmers from local towns and had led to tension and conflicts with local farmers groups due to effects of forest removal, soil erosion and indiscriminate use of herbicides on local water supplies, and their wishes to preserve tropical forest and ensure more conservation oriented farming⁴⁹.

Cassava

Cassava is the most widely produced food crop in the Jiquiriçá valley and is well adapted to a wide range of environments. Formerly a subsistence crop, typically grown following forest clearance before establishment of permanent crops, it is now the most commercially important crop in the valley. High quality cassava flour and other products are traditionally processed and sold directly by farmers in local and regional markets. Having declined as cocoa expanded in the 1980s and early 1990s, cassava production increased rapidly after the cocoa crisis as farmers sought alternative income sources. According to IBGE municipal production data held by SEI, cassava accounted for 61.4% of total agricultural marketed value in the valley in 2008 and over 55% of cultivated area. The greatest expansion was in Amargosa, São Miguel das Matas and Laje in the east of the valley with good access to major

⁴⁹ Interviews with Gilda Andrade at Andaiá on 27 March 2010 and with Damiana Martins Santos and members of the local residents association at Duas Barras de Fojo on 29 March 2010.

regional markets in the Recôncavo region, and as a result of the presence of CODIEL, a large mechanised cassava flour production and packaging plant in Sao Miguel, established by a successful small farmer and now a major cassava buyer and distributor supplying urban markets in Salvador and São Paulo.⁵⁰

In the field survey in Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Cravolândia, two of the 12 farming communities (a land reform group in Cravolândia and a higher altitude farming community in Jiquiriçá municipality) identified cassava as the most important crop, two as the second most important. Four ranked cassava as the third most important crop, after cocoa and bananas, and four others as a fourth or less important crop.

As throughout northeast Brazil, farmers process cassava into flour locally both for domestic use as a central part of the diet and for sale. Processing takes place in, in family or community owned artisanal processing mills (*casas da farinha*), mechanically, or more often now electrically operated, present in most rural communities. An electrified and well operating *casa da farinha* is a key piece of community infrastructure which reduces the time required for processing and enables large numbers of local farmers to produce at least small quantities of high quality flour for sale. Farmers producing larger quantities transported cassava flour to local markets in Mutuípe, Amargosa and Ubaíra for direct sale to consumers. In São Miguel de Matos, although some community-based *casas de farinha* were unable to compete with CODIEL, the factory also brought ready processed cassava flour from local community groups, eight of which continue to operate their own small-scale cassava mills.

Smallholders in São Miguel de Matos and elsewhere reported that, despite cassava's importance as a supplementary cash crop, expansion had stalled due to scarcity of land, the gradual recovery of cocoa, and the prohibition of forest clearance by the state, preventing expansion of cassava on to remaining pockets of virgin land. Farmers in Fojo (Mutuípe) and in Andaraí near Jiquiriçá described how cassava was now less important than before due to lack of space. Generally cassava was a preferred crop in areas less suitable for cocoa and with greater land availability, but also in localities close to strong established markets, notably in Laje and São Miguel das Matas. In other circumstances, cocoa was the preferred cash crop, owing to its higher value and as a perennial tree crop, which once established had a

⁵⁰ Information gathered during a visit to the CODIEL cassava processing and packaging plant on 23 March 2010 and provided by Sr Helder Giovanni, Agriculture Secretary for São Miguel das Matas interviewed on the same date.

significantly lower labour demands than for other crops. In Laje, the investment company Odebrecht has established *Coopamido*, a factory producing cassava starch for industrial use, supplied by a large central nucleus estate and a putative cooperative arrangement of contract farmers utilising company supplied inputs and paid at pre-determined prices.

Horticulture

Commercial horticulture developed in Jaguaquara, Itaquara and Itiruçu in the valley's transition zone following introduction of vegetable seeds and irrigation technologies by Italian immigrants in the 1940s who benefited from a public land distribution scheme. A wide range of agro-ecological niches suitable for different horticultural crops are present in the Jiquiriçá valley, and horticulture proved to be a viable alternative to coffee for small and medium-scale farmers, spreading to neighbouring municipalities. Most production is by small to medium-scale farmers who have come to specialise in different locations. Production increased in the 1990s and 2000s, following construction of the BR116 Federal highway, leading to the emergence of Jaguaquara as a major regional centre for horticultural trade, owing to its strategic location at the centre of a growing horticultural area, with good road connections to other horticultural production centres in Bahia such as the *Chapada Diamantina* and to the state's principal wholesale and consumer markets in Feira de Santana and Salvador.

Apart from bananas, the major horticultural crops are passion fruit and tomatoes, followed by peppers, pineapples and cucumbers. In the decade up to 2008 passion fruit expanded steadily in former coffee areas, but tomatoes declined as a result of rising irrigation and agrochemical costs and competition from other regions. The 2006 Agricultural census recorded 2,217 fruit and vegetable producers concentrated in three transitional zone municipalities (Jaguaquara, Ubaíra and Itiruçu), which together accounted for approximately 80% of horticultural production.

In the rural communities' survey horticulture and fruit production, emerged as the most important sources of farm income for small farmers in municipalities of Ubaíra and Cravolândia in the transition zone. Passion fruit, pineapple, tomatoes, cucumbers and cashew were identified as the most important horticultural crops. Commercial scale production relied on purchased inputs notably fertilizer but also pesticides for some crops such as tomatoes, and irrigation for off-season production, with the result that the most successful were

professional small to medium-scale farmers or associations able to raise credit for collaborative projects. Land reform groups visited in former coffee producing estates in Ubaíra and Santa Inês have been able to establish successful businesses producing passion fruit and mixed vegetable crops respectively⁵¹. Municipal employees interviewed in Brejões described how horticulture has become the only alternative for former coffee farmers, enabling some small and medium-scale farmers to remain in business despite the collapse of coffee⁵². Although vegetable production in this region often takes place at quite high altitudes, once produce could be transported to a main road, farmers had good access to markets, reporting regular sales to the wholesale market in Jaguaquara, the regional market centre that grew up at *Kilometro Cem*, the weekly market in Ubaíra and to urban consumers in Brejões and Santa Ines. The exception was Cravolândia, where farmers reported markets to be poor due to isolation, poor roads and the steady decline of the small town of Cravolândia itself as a market centre⁵³.

Production of fruit, notably oranges, is also important for family farmers in the eastern lower valley, close to the regional market centre in the Recôncavo region. As a result of the cocoa crisis small-scale cultivation of citrus, passion fruit, and other tropical fruit has grown in the forest zone, and low volume high value seed crops including cloves, and a set of indigenous fruits, cupuaçú, acaí, guaraná (both sources of stimulants and nutritional supplements) and urucúm (a red dyestuff), all promoted by CEPLAC. These products provide supplementary incomes from sales to industrial markets, managed by cocoa traders, or in the case of rubber directly to the Michelin company by contract farmers⁵⁴. The region also produces large quantities of perishable fruits such as mangoes, avocados, guavas, and jackfruit, and cajá, also used to provide high shade for maturing cocoa trees. In the absence of ready markets and processing facilities for fresh fruit, the bulk of this produce is lost. The vast majority of processing is domestic, small-scale and artisanal, although many farming families now produce frozen fruit pulp, jellies and cakes for sale in local markets.

⁵¹ *Força Jovem de Ubaíra* land settlement visited on 6 August 2009 and Hermes de Caires settlement in Santa Ines visited on 19 March 2009.

⁵² Group discussion with municipal agronomist Sr Euderico and other municipal employees in Brejões, 26 March 2010.

⁵³ Informants at Isla Formosa / Três Braços in Cravolândia interviewed on 30 August 2010.

⁵⁴ Sr José Orlando Mantiqueira, visited and interviewed at his farm in Laje on 12 August 2009 had added rubber to his mixed tree crop farming system with technical support and guaranteed purchase by Michelin.

Cattle Rearing

Extensive rearing of cattle is practiced throughout the Jiquiriçá valley and remains its major land use, in terms of area. Beef and dairy cattle were important historically in the settlement of the valley and land clearance for pasture has been the major cause of deforestation and loss of vegetation cover, alongside commercial logging and charcoal production. In semi-arid areas, and parts of the transitional zone, large farms devoted to extensive cattle-raising predominate.

Cattle-rearing is of low productivity and generates minimal employment. Widespread pasture and soil degradation are evident, particularly on steep slopes, leading to serious problems of siltation of the Jiquiriçá River and other water courses. As is common practice in Brazil, large tracts of land are maintained as pasture by absentee landowners with minimal investment, for purposes of speculation and as a hedge against inflation, or to minimise tax liabilities by official declaration of investment and maintenance costs. Productivity is limited by poor quality pasture and declining pasture productivity. According to EBDA officials interviewed, as soils become exposed and eroded through over-grazing, there is a general trend for cattle farmers to replace pasture with progressively cheaper and less productive varieties of forage grasses, leading to a cycle of economic and ecological decline.

Since 2000, sanitary regulations forced the closure of local unrefrigerated abattoirs, obliging producers to transport animals over long distances to market, adding to costs. Restriction of the beef market prompted substitution by dairy, but following closure of a Parmalat milk processing plant in Amargosa, only producers with dairy facilities can market produce commercially. However because of its relatively low labour demand, extensive pasture still remains the simplest and cheapest land use option for those retaining land (or acquiring it by purchase from landowners driven out of business by the coffee collapse) as a capital asset or for speculative purposes.

As a result of restrictions on marketing and low productivity cattle numbers fell from 1990 to 2008 by almost 25% to approximately 305,000. The value of production fell nearly 40% during 2000 – 2007⁵⁵. In the forest zone, from the 1970s, many landowners replaced pasture with cocoa owing to its greater profitability, a trend interrupted by the cocoa crisis leading some farmers to re-convert to pasture. Despite a renewed trend for substitution by cocoa due

⁵⁵ Source: IBGE, *Pesquisa Agropecuaria Municipal*, years 2000 to 2007.

to rising cocoa prices, in 2006 55% of the land area remained devoted to cattle-raising, while contributing only 5.5% of the value of total farm production⁵⁶.

Cattle are of limited importance for small-scale farmers, primarily because of lack of available land for pasture and the availability of a variety of more profitable land uses, notably cocoa and bananas, cassava or mixed cropping, which all provide greater returns from small-scale investments than pasture. Although a number of farmers described having maintained several hectares under pasture, for small-scale dairy production in the past⁵⁷, most of this land had now been converted to cocoa, and small farmers reported that it made more sense to rent in small areas of pasture land if required, rather than establish their own⁵⁸. Nevertheless farmers with sufficient land continue to maintain small areas of pasture to support draught animals and for household milk production. However farmers groups in rural communities visited in Mutuípe reported that in all cases small stock, including pigs, goats and chickens were more important than cattle continue as sources of income and food. These were always free range animals fed on waste farm materials and not competing with valuable cash crops on scarce land resources. Given the continuing importance of cocoa, and lack of additional land, farmers in these locations reported utilising government credit from PRONAF (not available for cocoa) to start small-scale pig or chicken raising businesses.

Despite low cattle productivity and the recent difficulties faced by both beef and dairy markets, medium and larger scale farmers continue to maintain land under pasture, as a low cost option, as a result of cash constraints following falls in cocoa prices, in converting larger areas to cocoa in the early 2000s, and the relatively high cost of clonal cocoa plants.

Semi arid crops

Historically, the semi-arid parts of the valley have combined extensive cattle rearing with large-scale production of drought resistant crops such as sisal, castor and cotton, alongside fodder crops and extraction of natural palm fibres. Labour relations followed the classical pattern of Northeast Brazil where rural workers provide daily contract labour and utilise small plots for subsistence production, often as sharecroppers. In addition small-scale family

⁵⁶ IBGE 2006 agricultural census figures

⁵⁷ For example, Sra Ana Rita de Souza Barreto restaurant owner and former dairy farmer from Pindoba, near Mutuípe, interviewed on 16 September 2009. She gave rising costs of labour and marketing difficulties as the main reasons for abandoning the dairy business in favour of cocoa and investments in urban businesses, although the cocoa farm was also relatively unproductive, due to the impact of witches broom and also because of labour constraints.

⁵⁸ For example as cited by farmers in discussions with community members at Pindoba, Mutuípe on 23 July 2010, and Riacho das Pedras in Ubaíra on 21 August 2010.

farming is also established in some higher altitude former coffee producing locations falling within the valley's otherwise semi- arid zone.

From the 1930s *castor* was an important crop in the semi-arid areas for supply of oil to the cosmetic industry. According to its municipal Agriculture Secretary Maracás and neighbouring municipalities formed one of the largest castor producer regions of the world in the 1970s, with strong participation by the family sector.⁵⁹ Collapse in demand and price in the 1983 led to a wave of land sales, substitution of castor by cattle, increased land concentration and urban migration.

Sisal was cultivated on large estates in drier areas unsuitable for coffee, but subject to strong competition from neighbouring regions. Following decline of the coffee estates, sisal production also stagnated and shifted elsewhere. *Cotton* was promoted in the 1970s but never developed strongly due to absence of large-scale cotton buyers in the region.

Farm production as a whole has continued to decline in the semi-arid region of the Jiquiriçá valley during the 1990s. Due to the decline of coffee, castor and sisal, and the low productivity of cattle ranching, large areas have been abandoned, demand for labour has fallen drastically, and land owning families moved to Salvador or elsewhere. Between 1996 and 2006 poverty increased sharply in Maracás which lost 619 mainly very large farms and underwent a decrease of 52,000 ha in operated area due to abandonment of castor production, and declines in cattle and coffee production in this part of the valley. Smaller properties were sold to large producers and devoted to pasture, but the larger estates are now largely abandoned. While some have been put up for land reform, others remain stocked with small herds of cattle to provide evidence of productive use until such time as the owners are able to sell for higher prices. Some areas have been acquired for eucalyptus plantations by the steel company Ferbasa which produces fuel wood to power its steel mills.

Goats, able to graze on scrub and rough pasture and also fed on prickly pear cactus (*palma*) produced as a fodder crop, provide some income and a source of meat and dairy produce for small farmers in semi-arid and transitional areas of the valley. The state has played a positive role in promoting formation of producer associations for small-scale dairy, honey and cattle feed production in efforts to reverse decline, and increase family incomes and employment in some semi-arid municipalities. A municipal cooperative project for irrigated flower

⁵⁹ Gilmar Rocha de Novães, interviewed on 10 August 2009.

production in Maracas targeting unemployed women and small private growers has also been successful in supplying flowers to major urban markets.

5.3 Small farmer responses to changing markets

This section reports results of the rural communities' survey, undertaken in the municipalities of Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Cravolândia in July – August 2010 and discusses small farmers' responses to market development and change and the impacts on livelihoods. The communities visited and their principle agricultural features are shown in Table 5.2, overleaf.

Unlike large-scale enterprises devoted to coffee and cattle-raising, small farmers have on the whole been able to adapt to and take advantage of changing market conditions. The livelihood and economic benefits of market development have been felt primarily where small farmers are concentrated, in the forest belt and in the horticultural areas of the transition zone. In these locations the range of crops and markets available have enabled small farmers to adapt to changing market conditions in ways that have not been possible for larger farm enterprises, in contrast to the semi-arid region and the transitional areas devoted to coffee and cattle, which appear to have entered a long term cycle of decline.

For rural communities in the forest and transition zone, farming remains the major source of income. The rural communities' survey demonstrated the clear importance of cocoa as the primary cash crop for farmers in the forest zone, even for farmers with little land and operating at low productivity, and despite the presence of witches broom disease and the collapse in cocoa prices at the end of the 1990s. The resilience of forest zone farming systems can be explained partly by their diversity: on the one hand cocoa is not planted alone but in direct association with bananas which are another important cash crop. In addition, cocoa is produced alongside a wide variety of other crops, including other tree crops used to provide shade as cocoa matures, grown for home consumption and also providing supplementary cash income. Even with lower prices low prices and low overall output and productivity cocoa provides a guaranteed cash income requiring relatively low maintenance, and thus important to old people, single women, of those for whom casual and seasonal labouring was a main income source - truly, in this sense, "a poor man's crop".

Table 5.2 Rural communities assessed and their principal agricultural features (based on fieldwork undertaken July – September 2010)

Municipality	Community (approximate size)	Locational and geographical features	Land Access	Ranked important crops	Ranked income sources
MUTUIPE (5)	Pindoba 111 families	Forest zone 8km from Mutuípe	< 1 ha for most families; some with 3 – 4 ha	1. Cocoa 2. Bananas 3. Cassava 4. Spices & fruits	1. Farming 2. Casual labour 3. Pensions/ welfare
	Pau Seco 139 families	Forest zone approx. 30km from Mutuípe	As above	1. Cocoa 2. Bananas 3. Spices & fruits 4. Cassava	1. Farming 2. Casual labour 3. Pensions/ welfare
	Fojo 136 families	Forest zone approx. 18 km from Mutuípe	As above	1. Cocoa 2. Cassava 3. Bananas 4. Spices & fruits	1. Farming on own land 2. sharecropping & land rental 3. Pensions/ welfare
	Rio do Braço / Rua da Palha c.700 people	Forest zone, higher altitude, 43 km from Mutuípe	Wide range <1 – 18 ha; most have 3 – 10 ha	1. Bananas 2. Cassava 3. Cocoa	1. Farming 2. Casual labour 3. Pensions/ welfare
	Parafuso 130 families	Forest zone 9km from Mutuípe off main road to Amargosa	< 1 – 2 ha	1. Cocoa 2. Cassava 3. Bananas	1. Farming 2. Casual labour 3. Pensions/ welfare
JIQUIRICA (3)	Serraria II 60 families	Forest zone at higher altitude, 36 km from Jiquiriçá. Former forestry community in logging area	15 – 20 ha average	1. Cassava 2. Cocoa 3. Bananas 4. Spices & fruits	1. Farming 2. Pensions/ welfare 3. Migrant labour
	Andaraí 150 families	Forest zone 7 km from Jiquiriçá	Most have 2 – 4 ha; one more than 10 ha. (lack of space for cassava)	1. Cocoa 2. Bananas 3. Spices & fruits	1. Farming 2. Pensions/ welfare 3. Casual labour
	Boqueirão Approx. 100 families	Forest zone c. 15 km from Jiquiriçá	Most < 4ha. Some small <i>fazendas</i> 10 -20 ha	1. Cocoa 2. Bananas 3. Cassava	1. Farming 2. Casual labour 3. Pensions/ welfare
UBAIRA (3)	Alto da Lagoinha 225 families	Forest / transition zone; urbanised settlement near Ubaíra on main road	1 – 10 ha; most c. 4 ha; some landless. Some nearby large farms 100 – 800 ha	1. Cocoa 2. Bananas 3. Cassava/passion fruit/Pineapple 4. cashew & other	1. Casual labour 2. Pensions/ welfare 3. Farming
	Riacho das Pedras c.100 people	Forest / Transition zone 27 km from Ubaíra	8 – 10 ha average Some larger <i>fazendas</i>	1. Banana 2. Cocoa 3. Passion Fruit 4. Cassava	1. Farming 2. Casual labour 3. Pensions/ welfare
	Cachoerinha c.180 people	Transition zone higher altitude	10 ha average; 20% have 2 – 3 ha; a few 50 ha +	1. Horticulture 2. Cocoa	1. Casual labour 2. Pensions/ welfare 3. Farming
CRAVOLÂNDIA (2)	Ilha da Formosa 200 families	Land reform community in forest zone, 35 km from Cravolândia	Only 30% have land (3-5 ha)	1. Cassava 2. Bananas 3. Cocoa	1. Pensions 2. Casual work 3. Welfare 4. Farming
	Riacho de Palmeira 60 families	Transition zone 20km from Cravolândia; formerly dependent on timber and hunting	Most 10 -15 ha	1. Bananas 2. Passion Fruit 3. Cassava	1. Casual labour 2. Farming 3. Welfare

Farmer group discussions revealed that the majority of farmers faced cash constraints in acquiring fertilizers and in gaining access to credit for working capital. This led to insufficient fertilizer application to maintain optimal yields. Although higher rates of fertilizer application and greater uptake of clonal varieties could enable higher productivity, cocoa still remained the most important crop, despite these constraints. Although most small farmers do not operate at a level sufficient to access the credit packages available for cocoa, most were able to obtain fertilizer from cocoa traders in direct exchange for the equivalent value of cocoa beans, or to gain access to a bridging loan for household subsistence and working capital by selling the expected cocoa harvest in advance (*na flor* or “on the flower”) after the trees had flowered, providing a reasonably reliable indication of expected yields. For these reasons farmers tended to maintain longstanding reciprocal (albeit unequal) relations with cocoa traders who could be relied upon to provide some assistance given the sharp competition amongst them and their interests in maintaining the allegiance of large numbers of small-scale cocoa producers as suppliers.

Despite the impact of Witches Broom disease (described as having cut production up to 50% in some locations, but much less in others) and of lower cocoa prices, cocoa has remained consistently important over two to three decades. A general picture of co-existence with Witches Broom emerged from interviews with small farmers. In some locations farmers stated that they could not afford to substitute clonal disease resistant varieties for older trees, and in any case were not convinced of the value of doing so, given the high cost of fertilizer and other agronomic treatments required; they preferred to clear affected material and burn it on site, using freely or cheaply available family labour. Nevertheless, in cocoa growing communities closer to urban centres and for better off farmers with larger landholdings and production volumes, clonal cocoa was said to be spreading quite rapidly.

While cassava provides an alternative or complementary to cocoa where sufficient land is available, markets have emerged for a series of specialist tropical tree crops also promoted by CEPLAC, grown in smaller quantities and often sold alongside cocoa to the same buyers. These include guaraná, urucúm (a dyestuff), cashew, acai, cloves (important at higher altitudes which are less suitable for cocoa but are not preferred due to volatile prices and the dangers of harvesting the seeds from high in the trees) and also rubber. Farmers also gain income from small-scale livestock. In the transition zone horticulture offers a sustainable

alternative to coffee and a wide variety of different products are produced for sale and suitable for the wide range of distinct productive niches which exist according to altitude, slope, soils, and water availability, including maize, beans, peanuts cashew and pumpkins. Eucalyptus has been introduced as a tree crop suitable for degraded land, and to reduce pressure on natural forest for fuel wood and construction materials.

Although farmer marketing organisation was not generally highly developed and farmers were often reliant on middlemen to get produce to market, they were not dependent on single markets and single buyers. Different marketing channels were used for different crops: farmers used their own or neighbours transport to get produce to weekly local markets, and deliver cocoa and other high value crops to buyers, while selling bulk produce such as bananas to middlemen supplying wholesale markets. Older famers interviewed described how in their youth the only way of getting produce to market was by mule, with journeys to the most local town taking up to a whole day⁶⁰. However the success of cocoa and other cash crops has enabled growing numbers of farmers to acquire their own means of transport, or even to invest in small-scale transport businesses, undertaking school transport and assisting others get crops to market. Secondary roads and availability of public transport have also gradually improved, and as a result farmers are able to transport produce to local markets at relatively low cost. Although middlemen tended to dominate the trade in higher bulk products such as bananas and passion fruit, the wholesale market of Jaguaquara was directly accessible to farmers who had access to locally available transport.

In addition to the high costs of fertilizers and other external inputs, and dependency on middlemen for marketing particular crops, the principal constraint on sustainability of small farm production was limited access to land, due to large family sizes and successive land subdivision over the generations (discussed in section 5.4 below), with the result that farming could no longer support younger generations as a whole and rural communities have become increasingly reliant on labour markets.

Another frequently cited constraint was indebtedness, resulting from failures to repay small-scale credit provided by PRONAF, and associated with a lack of technical assistance to support adoption of new crops and failures of specific small-scale investment projects that were not successful, and. Some communities reported significant uptake of PRONAF in the

⁶⁰ As reported by farmers from Rio do Braço and Paul Seco in Mutuípe, during the rural community survey

past followed by rising indebtedness leading to suspension. In several cases credit uptake was low and used primarily for small-scale livestock. Some farmers complained of the absence of appropriate credit packages for small-scale cocoa. CEPLAC (the cocoa development agency) was considered to have a very important role, but generally weak and highly technical extension advice focussed on requirements of CEPLAC-promoted, disease-resistant clonal varieties was a source of complaint.

Together with the secondary data, the field survey findings demonstrate the importance of regional and global markets in driving agricultural development and their positive effects on prosperity and poverty reduction amongst rural people in the forest zone of the valley. Overall, the rural communities' survey showed small-scale farming and livelihood systems to be highly diversified and adaptable, despite operating at low levels of productivity with limited use of external inputs and with significant dependency on intermediaries in order to access markets. In spite of diminishing access to land for the younger generation, concentration on cash crops and improved accessibility to markets has meant that rural families can afford to buy staple food stuffs, rather than rely on their own production, while also adding a wide range of home produced fruits and vegetables to the diet. Selective diversification of cash crops has enabled adaptation to variable market conditions, and gradual, policy-led improvements in roads, transport and infrastructure have enabled better access to markets, education, health care and improved standards of living, making rural life sustainable.

5.4 Agrarian structure

Land holding in much of the river basin is characterized by predominance of small and medium sized farms, alongside smaller numbers of larger farms which occupy the greater land area in most municipalities. This section discusses the established land holding structures and the evolving trends in land distribution between family and landlord operated farms in different parts of the valley, based on historical data and the results of the 1995/96 and 2006/07 agricultural censuses, also drawing on fieldwork findings and observations. A discussion is developed of the effects of these land holding patterns and trends on agricultural development and livelihoods.

Brazil's Agricultural Censuses provide three types of data that can be used to assess trends in land holding and agrarian structure: (i) Gini coefficients for Land⁶¹ as a measure of land concentration for each municipality; (ii) land size class data, i.e. information on numbers and total areas of land holdings falling into different size classes in each municipality; and (iii) data on numbers and total areas of family farms⁶² and landlord-managed farms in each municipality. The discussion here draws on data from the last two agricultural censuses, together with historical data and field survey findings for selected municipalities to characterise the current agrarian structure in the Jiquiriçá valley, and the evolving trends.

Taken as a whole, the Jiquiriçá valley has a highly concentrated, dualistic and unequal structure of land-ownership typical of north-eastern Brazil, comprising relatively small numbers of large estates and larger numbers of small farms, with a Gini index for land of almost 0.8. The 2006-07 Agricultural Census recorded 368 farms over 500 hectares in size, occupying 43.6% of agricultural land area, but comprising only 1.3% of total land holdings. Despite this overall structure of land holding the Jiquiriçá valley, is distinct from other areas with similar overall patterns of land concentration in having large numbers of small to medium-scale farms which, according to the 2006 agricultural census, contribute over 50% of its total farm production. At the time of the census family operated farms outnumbered landlord managed farm businesses by a factor of 4.2. 68% of land holdings were below 10 hectares in size, and 89% of farms below 50 hectares, occupying 4.5% and 17.2% of the area respectively.

There are nevertheless significant differences in land holding structure in different parts of the valley, reflecting different agro-ecological conditions and historical processes of land occupation. In the forest zone, small family operated farms predominate, while larger land holdings rarely exceed 500 ha and are mainly devoted to pasture. Moving west and northwest from the forest zone in the south east of the valley, numbers of large-scale land holdings increase, and in the semi-arid west of the valley agrarian structure is dominated by

⁶¹ A measure of land concentration which varies from 0 to 1, where 1 represents absolute concentration and values close to zero represent very equal land distribution.

⁶² Family farms are defined in Brazilian law as farms on which management and the majority of the labour is provided by family members. The status of farms as family or landlord operated as recorded by the agricultural census is that reported by census respondents. Under permanent crops like cocoa, such farms are not necessarily very small, only requiring significant external labour at harvest time or for clearing debris and disease infected material. Conversely, some landlord operated farms may be essentially small family businesses, comprising little more than a few hectares of cocoa maintained by a hired-in farm manager supplemented by seasonal labour.

large estates with relatively few small farms, occupied by workers and tenants of large landowners, or independent small farmers.

Figure 5.3, below, shows the comparative distribution in 2006 of land holdings of different size classes for three different municipalities: Mutuípe in the forest zone where small-scale land holdings predominate in numbers, and land areas are relatively evenly distributed amongst the different size classes; Ubaíra, predominantly located in the transition zone, with fewer holdings in smaller size classes and greater numbers of medium and large land holdings; and Santa Inês straddling transitional and semi-arid zones, dominated by large-scale land holdings, where smaller land holdings are absent.

Fig. 5.3 Land distribution in three municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley in 2006: percentage of total land areas occupied by properties of different size classes (source: author's elaboration based on data from the IBGE 2006-07 Agricultural Census). The bar charts on the *x* axis show land size classes for each municipality, and the figures in brackets indicate the total number of land holdings; the *y* axis provides the scale for the percentages of land area occupied.

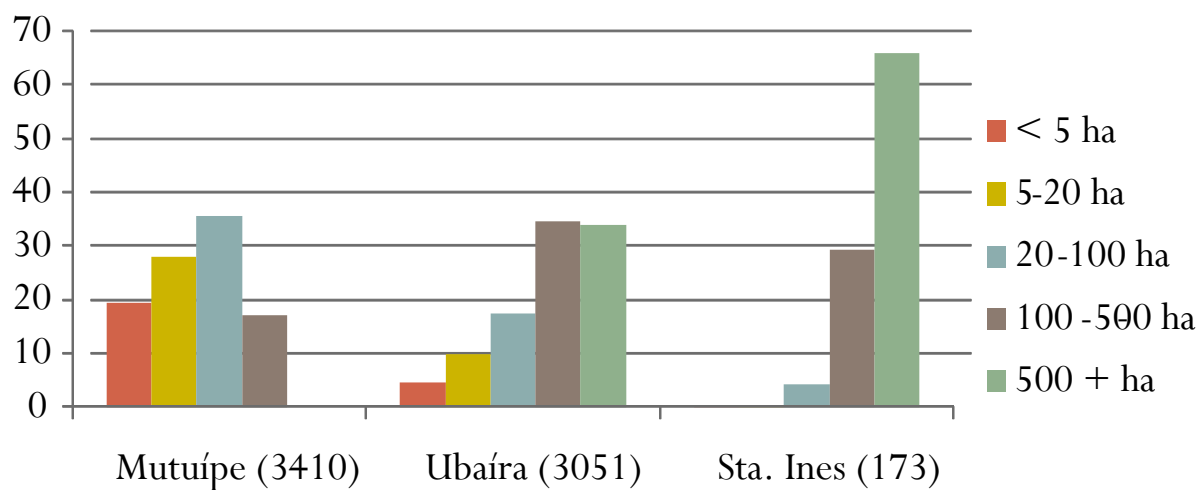
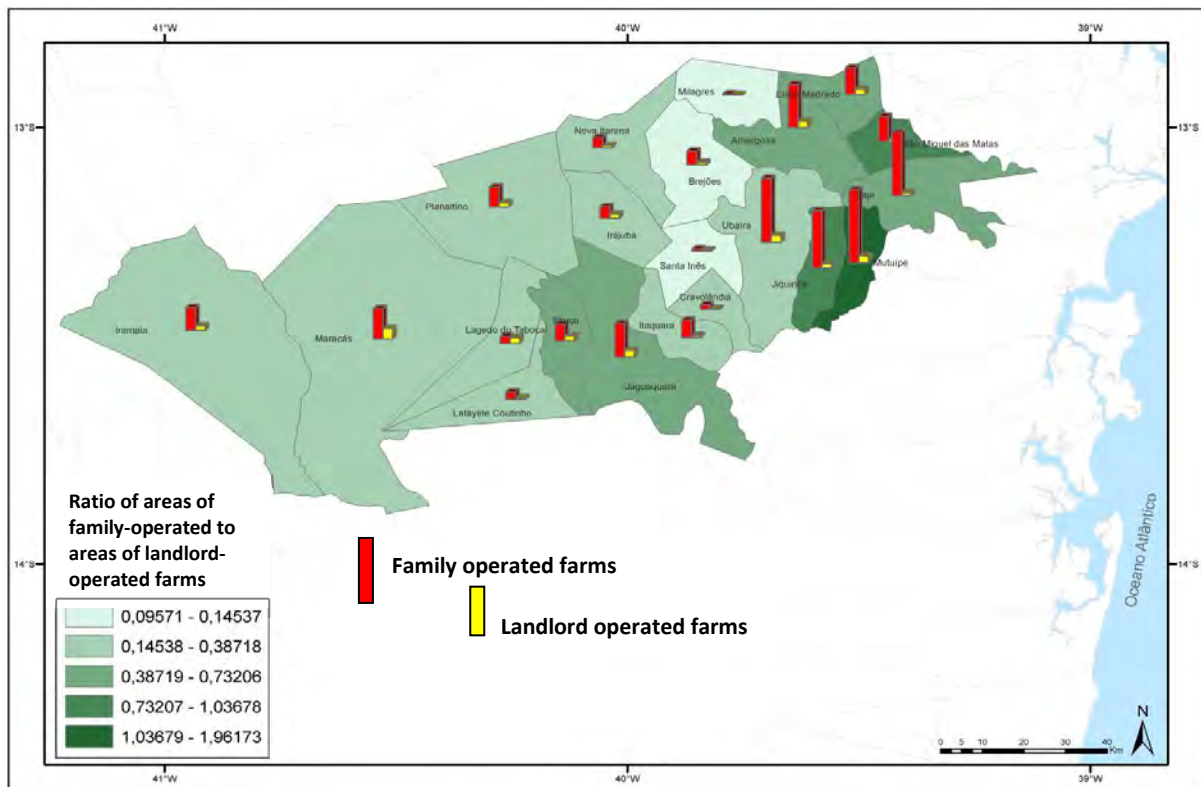


Figure 5.4, below, shows the variations in relative numbers and areas occupied by family and landlord managed farms in different municipalities. As can be seen from the size of the red columns, family farms predominate in terms of numbers, most notably in the eastern forest zone. The darker green areas indicate the higher proportion of land areas under family farming relative to landlord managed farms in the forest zone and also in horticultural belt around Jaguaquara. Elsewhere, the lighter green areas show that relatively small numbers of landlord managed farms occupy by far the greater area. In the municipalities of Milagres and

Santa Inês there are virtually no family farms, and in Brejões the area occupied by family farms is very low. Only in Mutuípe in the heart of the valley's forest zone, do family farms predominate in terms of area, as well as numbers.

Fig. 5.4 Ratio of numbers and areas of family operated and landlord operated farms in the Jiquiriçá valley, 2006 (source: IBGE Agricultural Census 2006; cartography by Projeto GeografAR, Geosciences Institute, UFBA, under author's direction, adapted from CONDER / SEI – Government of Bahia)



Sharecropping arrangements have been prevalent historically throughout Northeast Brazil and sharecropping and was said by informants in the Jiquiriçá valley to have previously been common, both amongst neighbouring family farmers and between tenant farmers and landlords. Some farmer groups visited in the forest zone during fieldwork reported that family farmers in some cases made arrangements for neighbours to assist with planting and harvesting in return for a share of the crop produced (normally 50 % or 30%) as a means of labour and land sharing, but that this had been more common in the past. In the case of cocoa, and other valuable cash crops sharecropping arrangements had now been replaced by payments in cash for casual or more regular seasonal labour, although for other crops such as bananas and cassava, sharecropping was sometimes still practiced. No cases were identified

of farmers or farm labourers who relied substantially on sharecropping for an income, and so for purposes of this discussion it is assumed that the vast majority of family farmers own the land they work^{63 64}.

Historical development of land holding patterns

There are two main reasons why this agrarian structure has developed in the valley: first, a gradual process of colonisation by both small and larger landowners; and second, high rates of population growth in the 20th century leading to sub-division of land holdings across successive generations. Some re-allocation of land holdings has also taken place through an active informal land market, mainly amongst neighbours but also involving small-scale farm investors from urban areas. In addition some limited reassignment of land rights has occurred through implementation of federal land reform programmes.

According to data from successive agricultural censuses and other sources⁶⁵, there was a marked increase in small land holdings in the mid-1980s, and a gradual overall increase in land concentration taking place over approximately 60 years, reflected in a gradual increase in the Gini index for land which is now almost 0.8 for the valley as a whole. Although the older historical data has gaps and is difficult to interpret, most of the valley's municipalities appear to have undergone substantial declines in land concentration in the period 1920-1950, corresponding to a period of colonisation in which small numbers of nominally very large

⁶³ One elderly landowner, a relatively recent Portuguese immigrant who owned and lived in a small *fazenda* near Mutuípe reported that he relied entirely on a farm manager to maintain his cocoa orchard, with whom he shared the crop on a 50 / 50 basis. Other informants insisted that such arrangements for cocoa were now very unusual. In transitional and semi-arid parts of the valley, some land reform settlers also reported having previously worked as sharecroppers on landlord farms, producing field crops and cassava for subsistence on small plots within *fazendas*.

⁶⁴ It is worth noting that according to informants and farmers themselves, in the majority of cases tenure arrangements resulting from subdivision, inheritance, or informal market sales or long term occupation in good faith have not been regularised, and farmers do not have up-to-date legal documents. The 2006-07 agricultural census data reports small numbers of farmers in some municipalities occupying land as tenants or as long-term squatters with acquired rights (*posseiros*) and very occasionally as sharecroppers (*meieiros*) the vast majority of family farmers are treated by the census, and generally by the state as legitimate land owners, despite the lack of documentation, although it is possible that some of these family farmers derived their rights from sharecropping arrangements. When the field research was undertaken work a tenure regularisation programme to register land and provide farmers with documentary proof of ownership, had begun in family farming areas of the valley, and on the last visit made to the valley, in December 2011, this was reported by family farming union organisers to have been making gradual but steady progress.

⁶⁵ Land holding data from multiple sources, including previous censuses and other official and historical sources throughout the 20th century, compiled for the whole of Bahia by the *GeografAR* research centre at the Geosciences Institute of UFBA, Salvador.

land holdings were broken up and occupied by new settlers⁶⁶. This was followed by a period of growing land concentration which may correspond with the consolidation and expansion of successful farm units combined with increasing informal occupation of small land areas by growing numbers of farm workers. In Jaguaquara municipality in the valley's transitional zone, land concentration declined in the 1960s, corresponding with the gradual abandonment and break up of coffee estates and replacement by medium and smaller scale horticulture. Mutuípe and to a lesser degree other forest zone municipalities experienced renewed temporary declines in land concentration in the 1970s, which could be explained by the substitution of pasture by cocoa and the break up and sale of very large units formerly devoted to cattle rearing as land acquired additional value during the beginnings of the cocoa boom. During the mid-1980s and 1990's however there is a marked trend in the data for increase in the number of small-scale land holdings in the valley as a whole, alongside a gradual overall increase in land concentration. As corroborated by numerous informants and in the rural communities' field survey, this was due to sub-division of family land holdings for inheritance by younger generations.

Field survey findings on land holding

The rural communities' field survey identified a wide range of land holding patterns in the four municipalities assessed, but discussions with farmers' groups confirmed the trends visible in the secondary data. Informants cited processes of land sub-division by inheritance, consolidation of successful farms by informal market purchases in the forest zone, and land abandonment or sale for cattle rearing following the collapse of markets for coffee and semi-arid crops.

All the communities surveyed reported diminishing access to land as a result of on-going processes of land subdivision at inheritance. This has been most pronounced in the forest zone as a result of the historical predominance of small-scale farming, and continuing demographic growth, limiting the capacity of family farming to absorb labour in successive generations. This was the case in Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá municipalities with large numbers of small farm households (with land holdings below 10 Ha) and smaller numbers of medium sized farms (10 – 40 ha) and very few large estates. Community members interviewed in

⁶⁶ In addition to in-migration and colonisation by small-scale farmers, it is also possible that smaller land holdings were simply not recorded in the earlier censuses, and / or that the tenure status of small units changed from that of tenancy or squatting, not recorded by the surveys, to land-ownership, which was recorded.

Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá municipalities reported average land holdings below 1 hectare (2 – 3 *tarefas*⁶⁷) in various cases with a small proportion of households reported as having 2 – 4 hectares. The size of plots inherited from the previous generation was already small, especially in more densely settled locations closer to municipal centres. In more remote, higher altitude locations of the forest zone larger holdings of 10 ha or slightly more were still common in areas further from the towns. Remarkably, family farming has nevertheless been sustainable even on very small-scale plots, as a result of sustained (albeit varying) returns from cocoa, and household adaptability in producing a wide range of associated crops and supplementing farm production with incomes from multiple sources.

In the transition zone, farm sizes are more mixed, with larger average land holdings of 8 – 10 hectares reported in transitional areas of Ubaíra and Cravolândia, together with the presence of “small *fazendas*” of 10, 20 or 30 hectares and some larger land holdings over 100 hectares. In many locations in Ubaíra not suitable for cocoa, farmers have been able to take up horticulture, in addition to a range of field crops, partially substituting for coffee formerly the principal cash crop. Cravolândia shares similar characteristics but this is a small and largely remote municipality with low population density, and less developed small-scale farming as a result of unequal land distribution and a traditional reliance by the rural poor on casual labouring, timber extraction and hunting.

Casual and seasonal labour on other farms was cited as an important supplementary source of income, after farming, for all the communities visited in the field survey, as a result of limitations in access to land. However access to casual labour opportunities was found to be very dependent on demand within the local community, as well as on proximity to and demand for labour from larger farms, which are fewer in number in the forest belt particularly in Mutuípe. Labouring opportunities were generally reported to be diminishing in the different locations visited, and were found to be lower in less accessible locations more distant from urban centres and the main road where the majority of larger farms were located. In the forest zone successful small farmers commonly acquire additional land by purchase from neighbours or family. Farmers’ groups described cases in which successful small farmers acquired additional or contiguous plots by purchase from neighbours or family

⁶⁷ A *tarefa* (literally “task” in English) is a local measure of land area still used in Northeast Brazil, equivalent to approximately 0.35 hectare which originally provided the basis for allocation of tasks and remuneration of casual farm labourers.

members, although this trend is not visible in the successive datasets on landholding size, probably because of the small size of the increases involved or by the same proprietor reporting separate land holdings as separate establishments. In Ubaíra, a municipality with a significantly higher proportion of larger landowners, two communities reported processes whereby larger land holdings had expanded by buying up smaller ones.

Recent evolution of land holding patterns

The 2006 Agricultural Census data confirms that as a result of land sub-division over successive generations, approximately 30% of farms in Mutuípe were under 1 hectare in size, and 48% were under 2 hectares. There were similar numbers of micro-land holdings in the neighbouring municipalities of the forest belt. Farmer groups in Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra with whom discussions were held in the rural communities survey all reported that as a result of land sub-division many farm households are now unable to support themselves by farming alone, and are reliant on providing labour to other farms or other sources of incomes, and large numbers of young people are unable to work on farm.

In semi-arid areas, farm sizes tend to be much larger, due to scarcity of rainfall and the predominance of extensive cattle-rearing, although small and medium-scale family farming also became established in some locations. In higher altitude and transitional areas large land holdings devoted to coffee production predominated during much of the 20th century. In these parts of the valley, economic relations exemplify the classic pattern of Northeast Brazil where rural workers provide daily contract labour occupying or renting small plots for subsistence production, or on a sharecropping basis. However this model of production has declined alongside the markets for the traditional products of coffee, sisal, castor and cattle, large tracts of land have been abandoned and demands for labour has fallen drastically.

Comparison of agricultural census data for land size classes and family and landowner operated farms between 1996 to 2006 reveals some significant overall trends:

- In the forest zone there was a marked tendency for fragmentation and increase in numbers of land holdings below 5 hectares with those below 1 hectare showing the greatest increases. Family farms increased in number but declined in total area, except in Mutuípe, where total family farming area increased slightly. Medium and larger holdings decreased in number but there were slight increases in numbers of the largest

holdings above 200 hectares⁶⁸. Landlord farms decreased slightly in numbers and total area for all municipalities except Laje, where both numbers and areas increased.

- By contrast, in transitional and semi-arid areas there was an overall trend was for a decrease in the total numbers of land holdings of all size classes, attributable to the decline in profitability of commercial farming in these regions during the period, plus a tendency in a few municipalities for numbers of very large holdings to increase.
- In some transitional areas (Amargosa, Brejões, Cravolândia, Jaguaquara) landlord farms decreased significantly in numbers and in area, reflecting the continuing decline of coffee and cattle production, the principle land uses. Family farms also decreased in total area but increased in numbers, which could be attributed to a combination of land subdivision amongst heirs and abandonment of farming. In other transitional municipalities (Lafayette Coutinho, Lajedo do Tabocal, Itaquara and Ubaíra) both numbers and areas of landlord farms increased, whereas areas under family farming declined significantly. In Itiruçu and Santa Inês, areas under family farming increased significantly from a very low base, whereas landlord farms decreased in area but increased in numbers – this is most probably due to processes of land redistribution and subdivision of large farms.
- In semi-arid municipalities the general trend was for both family and landlord farms to decline in in area, although in Planaltino and Nova Itarana, numbers of family and landlord farms increased, perhaps as a result of sub-division and consolidation of viable farm enterprises in smaller areas. Numbers of landlord farms also increased in Maracas and Iramaia. In Iramaia, where there has been a programme of land redistribution, areas and numbers of family farms increased.

As shown in Table 5.3 overleaf, for the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole, both family and landlord farms increased slightly in numbers but declined quite significantly in terms of total area between 1996 and 2007, according to the IBGE Agricultural Census data. This is consistent with the on-going decline in farming observed in semi-arid and some transitional zones.

⁶⁸ Census data on land concentration measured by land holding size and changing Gini indices for land do not however capture concentration of ownership of large non-contiguous tracts in hands of small numbers of owners such as large cocoa traders. During fieldwork in 2009-10 several cases of multiple land acquisitions were identified amongst large cocoa traders and other successful farmers and business people.

Table 5.3 Comparison of numbers and areas occupied by family and landlord farms in the Jiquiriçá Valley in 1995-96 and 2006-07 (author's elaboration based on comparison of municipal level data from IBGE Agricultural Censuses for 1995/96 and 2006/07)

Municipality	FAMILY FARMS				LANDLORD FARMS			
	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area
	1995/1996		2006/2007		1995/1996		2006/2007	
Amargosa	1.416	15.554	1.839	11.507	206	25.435	264	22.791
Brejões	832	7.569	577	3.836	186	35.710	107	31.066
Cravolândia	173	4.401	194	2.667	63	24.269	25	8.226
E. Medrado	1.019	8.228	1.118	7.399	99	9.984	218	13.275
Irajuba	678	8.947	492	9.604	69	22.502	156	25.152
Iramaia	394	28.209	989	32.051	123	121.132	190	111.272
Itaquara	452	7.042	733	5.302	58	11.045	91	21.899
Itiruçu	441	6.878	714	9.836	158	21.062	214	14.747
Jaguaquara	2.198	28.404	1.441	24.974	456	61.417	279	49.818
Jiquiriçá	1.761	10.676	2.436	9.472	198	10.413	165	9.136
L. Coutinho	317	10.810	315	5.463	59	17.584	72	23.001
Laje	1.884	18.275	2.688	17.147	192	19.153	250	23.423
L.do Tabocal	364	10.400	303	8.276	123	20.367	106	24.406
Maracás	1.932	68.276	1.292	35.897	384	151.331	435	131.071
Milagres	436	4.828	56	1.333	35	15.752	25	13.927
Mutuípe	2.455	14.203	3.125	14.301	289	9.136	285	7.290
Nova Itarana	292	13.478	435	8.791	56	29.904	89	28.178
Planaltino	632	23.995	853	22.722	132	93.690	186	63.856
Santa Inês	32	2.684	106	4.228	53	18.769	67	29.084
São Miguel das Matas	1.428	11.875	1.090	7.985	134	9.379	105	9.162
Ubaíra	3.282	28.946	2.740	20.197	303	44.136	311	52.165
Jiquiriçá Valley	22.418	333.679	23.536	262.988	3.376	772.172	3.640	712.945

Nevertheless, examination of the municipal data on areas and numbers of family and landlord farms in the table reveals that behind these overall trends for the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole, widely varying processes of expansion and contraction of numbers and areas of each type of farm are underway in different locations. There are however some difficulties in interpreting the processes that lie behind these different trends.

One difficulty is that various municipalities straddle different agro-ecological zones and as a result are affected by countervailing market trends for different farm products, such as the decline of coffee and cattle production which has taken place, alongside the expansion of horticulture and cocoa. Land redistribution and land abandonment have both had impacts in

transitional and semi-arid areas but the extent to which they did, and the actual processes underway, were not investigated empirically. In addition, market driven trends for land abandonment, sales and consolidation are also superimposed on the on-going processes of land sub-division through inheritance, which affect most land size classes, especially smaller and medium sized holdings. Another important feature associated with increases in numbers and areas of landlord farms in all the different zones is the re-designation of family operated farms as landlord farms, as the owners of successful small and medium enterprises move into the towns and hire in farm managers and seasonal labours instead of relying on family labour. The following discussion of land holding trends in specific municipalities also draws on examination of the changes in agricultural census data for different land size classes (not shown here), and on empirical findings and observations.

Between 1996 and 2007 land holdings below 5 hectares increased more than threefold in Mutuípe, more than doubled in Jiquiriçá, and increased by about two-thirds in Ubaíra, with the most marked tendencies to increase amongst very small holdings below 1 hectare in size. Most other size classes decreased in number, but in some municipalities, notably Ubaíra, the largest class of land holdings increased in total area, suggesting a localised tendency towards land concentration. This is most likely to have resulted from amalgamation of large cattle farms, or expansion of larger cocoa farms by acquisition of smaller units, as reported in the field survey. A different picture emerges in Santa Inês, which has the smallest number of farm establishments in the valley and had previously suffered badly from the decline of coffee. Here, total farm numbers almost doubled from 85 to 173, half of which is accounted for by increases in small farms below 5 hectares, but with slight increases in all other size classes and very substantial increases in operated area at the upper end, in farms above 1,000 hectares. These changes are at least partially explicable by the return of previously abandoned land to production, both by larger farmers and through land reform, but it is also possible that data was misreported in the 1996 agricultural census⁶⁹.

Brejões municipality incurred an overall reduction in productive area of some 8,000 hectares and a fall in the number of establishments of approximately 40%, reflecting the collapse of coffee production and affecting both family and landlord farms. The reductions were most

⁶⁹ The largest landowner in Santa Ines is a former Municipal Prefect who explained in interview that he has acquired a number of large properties and returned them to production. Other informants suggested that some of this land had been acquired illegally – in which case they would almost certainly not have been declared to census enumerators and that the former prefect may have been responsible for distorting census returns.

evident amongst those between 50 and 200 hectares and smallest farms below 2 hectares, but all size classes declined. Maracás, a large municipality in the semi-arid zone presented a similar picture with a decrease of 619 establishments and in operated area of approximately 52,000 ha mainly accounted for by decreases in very large farms above 1000 hectares, most probably explained by abandonment of cattle estates and castor and sisal production.

Close examination of data on land holding reveals no overall tendency of land concentration in the hands of larger landowners in family farming areas. Instead, medium sized holdings are growing in number because of sub-division of larger ones, while the continuing sub-division of very small plots producing an increase in the relative concentration of land, which is reflected in increases in the Gini index. Despite the large number of small farms, however, land inequality is a continuing reality. Nevertheless, it is the continual sub-division of family farms rather than inequality as such that presents the greatest problem. As confirmed by respondents to the community field survey, the pressure of diminishing access to land and the absence of land available for redistribution throughout the forest zone and for small farmers elsewhere oblige successive generations to consolidate farm operations amongst siblings and to seek alternative incomes and employment through outmigration, limiting the potential for sustainable farm incomes and creation of employment amongst younger generations.

Land reform

Government established a National Land Reform Programme in 1996 in response to demands from rural social movements nationwide, managed by INCRA. From 2000 onwards land reform settlements came to be established in semi-arid and transitional areas, mainly in the West of the Jiquiriçá valley where large areas were abandoned, and landowners became eligible for compensation for expropriated land. The FETRAF and FETAG rural union federations also both agreed to participate in the *Programa Credito Fundiario* (PCF) land purchase credit programme, which assists landless groups to negotiate with landlords for land on the open market, and provides subsidized credit for capital investments. By 2006, sixteen new land settlements were established in the valley, with 1,388 beneficiaries. Nine encampments grew up during the following two years, awaiting definitive transfers of land from previous owners⁷⁰. Numbers of land reform settlements are gradually expanding and

⁷⁰ Data provided in 2009 by the EBDA office in Santa Ines, which was the main source of technical assistance support to land reform groups in the valley, as the majority of land reform projects in the valley fell within its area of responsibility

impacts are discernible in the 2006 agricultural census data for municipalities with relatively few family farms and low rural population densities. Field visits confirmed that a number of these land reform settlements were quite successful, particularly in starting horticulture enterprises, although others suffered from problems of no or limited technical assistance, lack of access to water, and abandonment by beneficiaries, and one group in Brejões was reported to have acquired a largely arid, unproductive *fazenda* and had fallen into debt. A central problem for both the INCRA and PCF programmes however is that they are largely unable to address the problems of land fragmentation in the forest belt, since even the largest land holdings there are largely productive and fall below the size threshold for acquisition by INCRA and land on the market for purchase is located mainly in semi-arid and transitional areas, and is generally unproductive without additional investment in irrigation⁷¹.

Effects of agrarian structures on agricultural development and livelihoods

Despite pressure on available land, the prevalence of small-scale farming has brought significant benefits for those municipalities where it is concentrated, as opposed to those that are dominated by large-scale ownership. Analysis of municipal production data compiled by IBGE for the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley demonstrates clear associations in the more productive municipalities between more equal agrarian structures, growth in output of major agricultural crops, higher levels of municipal economic growth, and growth or maintenance of population and specifically rural population. Table 5.4, on p.222, compares the data on evolving agrarian structure and recent changes with available data from different sources on municipal economic growth, agricultural growth, changes in the output of major crops and changes in total and specifically rural populations for selected municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley during the 2000 – 2010 decade.

Those municipalities with more equal agrarian structures, such as Mutuípe and Jaguaquara have generally performed better economically and have shown the greatest proportional increases in agricultural GDP. Each of these municipalities forms the centre of a thriving agricultural region dominated by small and medium-scale producers and has significantly expanded output of cash crops during the mid- 2000s and each has retained or increased population, including rural populations. Municipalities with highly unequal land-ownership

⁷¹ A meeting held with members of the Jiquiriçá Valley Collegiate Territorial Forum during a final field visit for the research at the end of 2011 reported that a first farm for acquisition by a land reform group in the forest belt had just been identified in Laje municipality.

have not, and some have experienced major economic decline and loss of rural population. Nonetheless medium and large-scale farms have also contributed to increasing agricultural municipal GDPs in recent years, despite previous losses and reductions in numbers of farms and rural populations. Increases in numbers of family farms and the value of agricultural output in Santa Ines and Maracas suggest the beginnings of the reversal of earlier declines due to the collapse of coffee and semi-arid crops, although land holding remains dominated by larger units. Rural populations are unable to expand significantly in the forest zone of the valley however owing to scarcity of land, and the value of agricultural output appears to have increased as a result of expanding markets and some improvements in productivity in response. The continuing subdivision of small plots means that families can no longer rely on farming alone and is likely to constrain continuing expansion of agriculture in the forest zone, and other income sources of income are extremely important.

To investigate further correlation between the extent of family farming and increases in agricultural growth as a basis for socially inclusive development outcomes, the percentage change in agricultural product for 2000 to 2007 was plotted against the percentage of land areas under family farming in 2006. While this confirmed the correlation, the relationship revealed was relatively weak and not statistically significant. In practice the value of agricultural output is highly dependent on price variations, with the result that it has grown significantly in some municipalities where small numbers of large farmers have been relatively successful in producing high value horticultural products (such as Santa Inês) and where large numbers of small farmers produce cassava (for instance São Miguel das Matas) but less so where farmers depend more on crops such as cocoa for which prices remained relatively depressed during the period. More detailed, multi-variate analysis focussing on actual volumes or values of specific crops produced and land areas under different farm sizes in specific municipalities would be required in order to understand more fully the relationships between family farming and agricultural growth in the Jiquiriçá Valley.

Table 5.4 Comparative analysis of dynamics of rural change 1990 -2008 for selected municipalities in the Jiquiriçá Valley ⁷²

Municipality	Overall NR / productive characteristics	Agrarian structure: (% land area occupied by family farms in 2006 / increase in % from 1996)	Overall changes in agrarian structure 1996 - 2006	Change in GDP 2003-2008	Agricultural GDP: % of total 2008 (% change 02-07)	Changes in output of principle cash crops 2000 - 2008	Population growth / decline 1991 - 2010	Rural population changes 1991 - 2010
Mutuípe	forest	HIGH : 66% / increase of 6%	Large increase of very small units , slight overall increase in area	+ 13.23%	13.6% +74.5%	Cocoa: + 31.7% Banana:+126% Cassava: + 72.4%	Grew by 4.6%	55% of total Grew by 2.7% 1991 - 2010
Ubaíra	Forest / transitional	MEDIUM: 27% / decrease by 13%	Increase of very small units + some concentration at upper end	+12.75%	26.35% +36.3%	Cocoa: + 21.4% Banana: + 6.5% Cassava: + 93%	Fell by 4.2%	58% of total fell by 8.6% to 2000 and then by 13% to 2010
Santa Ines	Semi-arid / transitional	VERY LOW 0.12% / unchanged	Overall increase in farm numbers mainly in larger classes - overall concentration	+ 14.76%	11.12% +113% (from very low base)	Coffee: now marginal (fell by 94% 1990-2000)	Fell by 6.4%	8% of total; grew by 30% (from very low base)
Jaguaquara	transitional	MEDIUM: 31% / decrease of 2%	Overall increase in farm numbers ; slight increase in 10-20ha; Slight de-concentration	+13.27%	24.32% + 63%	Coffee: - 18.3% Cassava: + 110% Banana: + 5.2%	Grew by 41% to 2000 and then by 9.4% to 2010	24% of total grew by 5.6%
Brejões	transitional	LOW: 11% / decrease of 6%	Large decrease in farm number especially small but also large; slight re- concentration	+ 7.6%	44.76% + 12.3%	Coffee: + 39% (now declining)	Fell by 7.4% to 2000 and then by 6.5% to 2010	27% of total, declined 13%
Maracas	Semi-arid	LOW 21% / increase of 6%	Overall loss of 40% of farms / small increase in number of family farms.	+ 15.46%	24.23% +8.39%	Castor: fell by 93.4%	Fell by 28.7% to 2000 and then by 23.8% to 2010	28% of total Fell by 47.5%

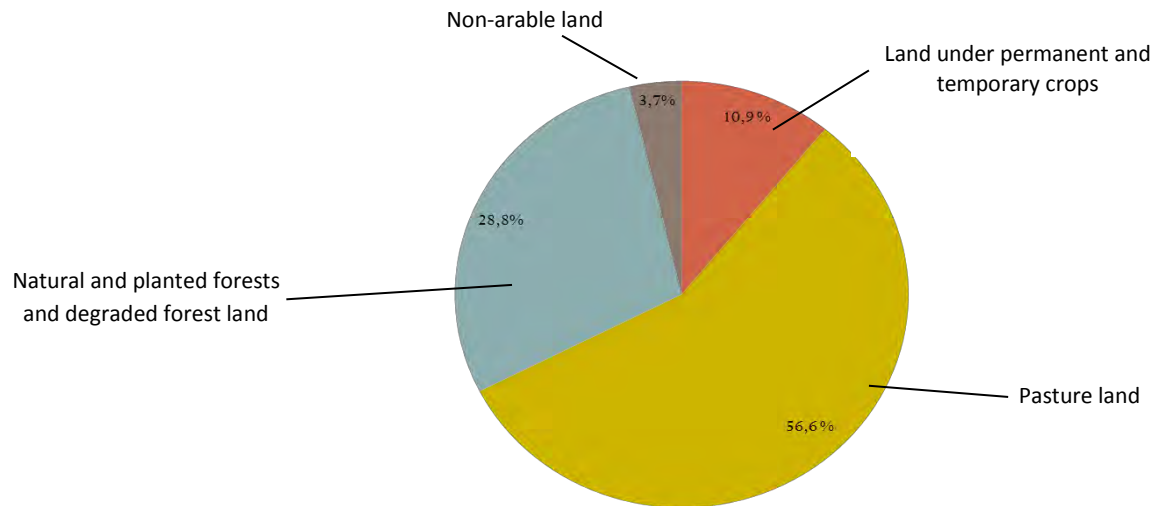
⁷² The rationale for selection of municipalities for this analysis was to include two each of the valley's major agro- ecological zones, including their principle population and production centres for each (Maracas, Jaguaquara and Mutuípe) and the 3 largest of the municipalities selected for investigation in the 2nd stage of field research. Brejões was included in order to examine more closely the changes associated with the decline of coffee in the transition zone, as the municipality most badly hit.

Perhaps the clearest indication, however, of the relationship between land holding structures and agricultural development for the Jiquiriçá Valley as a whole is provided by comparing the predominant land uses and associated revenue streams under larger and smaller scale land holdings, illustrated by Figure 5.5, shown overleaf. The larger scale land holdings in the valley's semi-arid, transitional and to a degree even within its forest belts are primarily devoted to cattle-raising, and pasture occupied 56.6% of the valley's productive land area in 2006. Cattle raising generated only 4.39% of land use revenues however, as opposed to over 90% of revenue generated from permanent and temporary agricultural crops, much of which are produced by small farmers. While medium-sized and a few of the larger farms devoted to cocoa and horticultural crops have modernised also produced good returns, large cattle and former coffee estates have generally not, representing outmoded production systems, holding back the valley's development, and perpetuating old social inequalities.

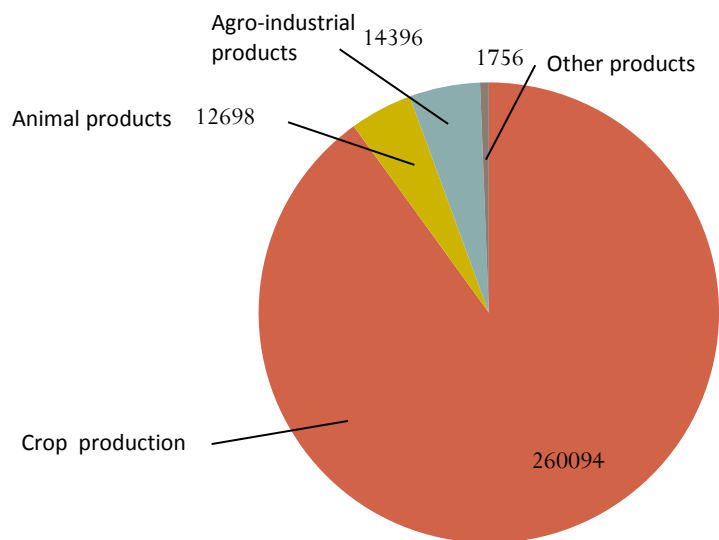
In conclusion, the analysis of the trends in land holding structure and municipal agricultural performance based on the secondary data suggests that a predominance of small-scale farming has tended to favour agricultural growth and more sustainable, inclusive rural economies in recent years. The continuing domination of extensive cattle production by large-scale landowners in is associated with overall economic decline, generating very little in the way of employment or economic returns. The collapse of large-scale commercial coffee production has also led to significant reductions of farm numbers and losses of population in some municipalities. Shifts out of coffee and cattle production into commercial cassava, bananas, horticultural and cocoa production appear to be beneficial for farmers of all sizes. In most municipalities there is a gradual and continuing tendency to overall land concentration and increases in number of landlord operated farms, as small-scale farming units are subdivided and larger farms acquire smaller unprofitable units, and successful small and medium-scale farmers move into town and leave farms in the hands of employee managers and local seasonal works. Opportunities for growth of higher value and more inclusive agriculture are limited however by land subdivision and lack of available land in the forest belt, whereas there is scope for continuing improvements through further land reform and small to medium-scale irrigated horticulture in transitional and semi-arid areas.

Fig. 5.5 Comparison of proportions of land use areas (%) and agricultural revenues (R\$1,000) from different land uses, Jiquiriçá Valley in 2006 (source: IBGE Agricultural Census, 2006)

Land use (% area)



Land use revenues (R\$1,000s)



5.5 Farm incomes, livelihoods and employment

This section builds on the discussions of changes in agricultural markets and patterns of land holding to consider the outcomes for rural people in the case study area, with reference to the fieldwork findings and relevant available secondary data. The 2006 Agricultural census combined with field research data provides a partial picture of rural household incomes. Farming communities visited in the forest zone confirmed that agriculture continues to be the principle source of household income, and of employment. However, in many cases land holdings are too small to enable farmers to survive solely from agricultural earnings, and as a result farm households cannot rely on farming alone but also on labour markets in which part time and casual labour provide important seasonal supplements to income. Rural pensions also provide security for older people, and today, *Bolsa Familia* provides a safety net for the poor, particularly single women.

Farming communities assessed in the forest zone ranked casual seasonal labour on other farms (both small farms within communities and larger farms elsewhere) consistently as the second most important source of income. The census shows that agricultural sales, including in some cases sales of home processed farm products is the principle income source for rural families, and that the majority of small farmers and other family members are occupied on-farm. In 2006 for the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole approximately 90,000 farm workers were directly related to the farm owner, and approximately 44,000 independent farm workers were also contracted. Typically, farms of all sizes recruit additional labour to undertake specific seasonal tasks such as harvesting and land preparation, and this is a significant source of employment for rural people, to supplement farm incomes. For over half of farm enterprises in the valley the farmer and / or other family members also worked off farm, in approximately 60% of cases on other farms, and in 40% of cases in other activities.

The rural communities' field survey showed that for all communities assessed in Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá municipalities, agriculture was the main source of income followed by casual / seasonal labour and rural pensions and welfare grants as supplementary income sources. In the 2006 agricultural census, 42% of farm households reported receiving some additional non-farm income, citing retirement pensions as the most important source in value terms. The census did not capture income from *bolsa familia* welfare payments which according to rural community members interviewed are now paid to a high proportion of small farm

households, and which together with pensions, were ranked as the third most important source of income by most communities visited. Informants in former coffee growing and semi-arid areas reported income transfers to be the most important source of income, alongside labour migration, because of the collapse of agricultural employment and lack of access to land.

Overall, the importance of formal and informal agricultural employment as a source of income had declined, as a result of decreases in demand for labour. Informants in the village communities survey attributed this to a number of factors, principally the collapse of the coffee economy in the valley, while diminishing farm size in the family farming sector, combined with the spread of cocoa as a permanent crop. Lower labour demands of cocoa as compared with annual crops, and declines in cocoa productivity also emerged from group discussions to be important factors reducing agricultural employment. Increases in the national minimum wage and in daily wage rates were other relevant factors, cited by larger farmers. Informants pointed out that as a result of these changes, a greater proportion of labour was now provided directly by farm households themselves.

Marketing opportunities had improved, particularly for bananas as a high volume crop, as a result of the improvement of roads enabling larger lorries to come and collect the crop for transport to major markets, although farmers complained about the prices they could get. As expressed by one small-scale farmers association near the town of Mutuípe: *we sell bananas to Feira de Santana, Amargosa and Salvador, but we have to sell them to those wretched transporters.*⁷³ More vehicles and public transport are also available to communities to get goods to market in smaller quantities, however, and in most locations families had invested the proceeds from cocoa farming in buying motorbikes and in some cases cars. In Mutuípe, municipal food purchase, technical assistance and support to community organisation provided by the local authority had helped people to find new markets. According to another local community leader, in a more remote location:

Before we just produced vegetables for consumption, but now we've learnt how to trade... vegetables for sale is a new thing for the community. Every month we take fruit pulp and cassava flour to Mutuípe for school meals. Every week we take

⁷³ Interview with Sr Benedito, President of a producers' association in Parafuso, Mutuípe on 15 August 2010.

*bananas, coriander, lettuce, cabbages and onions... there are even shortages, only bananas are left over.*⁷⁴

Pressure on land was a universal problem identified in the rural communities' survey, however, impeding further expansion of agriculture. Typically for the current generation of farmers:

*my father left 40 trefas (about 13 or 14 hectares) to ten children, so I got 4 trefas (just over one hectare).*⁷⁵

Older people reported having larger families, twelve, fourteen sixteen children were common, but birth rates were reported to have fallen considerably as a result of education, with younger families having only 2, 3 or 4 children.

With declining cocoa prices and diminishing land availability yields, overall incomes were said to be declining in a number of places. Even where sufficient land was still available most farmers nevertheless faced cash constraints. In Rua da Palha: *there is still land, the problem is lack of cash to prepare the land*⁷⁶. In Pau Seco: *people don't have enough money to buy fertilizer or clonal cocoa seedlings*⁷⁷. In Pindoba: *some people exchange sacks of cocoa for sack of fertilizer [from cocoa merchants] but only if there is any surplus cocoa to exchange*⁷⁸

Casual labour and sharecropping arrangements occur both on a community basis and with larger farmers. Casual labouring opportunities were generally reported to be diminishing and were lower in more densely settled areas closer to town due to declining land availability. Farmers in Pau Seco near Mutuípe reported that casual labouring was formerly common "*locally and as a form of community solidarity*", but that now: "*labour demand in the community and with neighbours is so little that the majority of young people are leaving....nobody can afford to contract and pay labourers*"⁷⁹. In Pindoba land rentals and

⁷⁴ Discussion with Sra Joelia, President of the community association at Rua da Palha, Mutuípe 24 July, 2010.

⁷⁵ Interview with Sr Benedito, President of a producers' association in Parafuso, Mutuípe on 15 August 2010.

⁷⁶ Remark by a local farmer during discussion with the community association at Rua da Palha, Mutuípe, 24 July, 2010.

⁷⁷ Community discussion as Paul Seco, Mutuípe on 23 July 2010

⁷⁸ Discussion with community residents association at Pindoba, Mutuípe, on 23 July 2010

⁷⁹ Community discussion as Paul Seco, Mutuípe on 23 July 2010

Sharecropping *“used to be practiced but it is not common to find it now because of lack of space.....people have difficulties in planting more cocoa.”*⁸⁰

Declining land availability has also restricted extensive development of cassava as a cash crop, a major source of demand for sharecropping. Municipal and local officials in São Miguel das Matas reported that introduction of legal restrictions on forest clearance was limiting cassava expansion and legislation to curb exploitative labour relations has also contributed to the decline of sharecropping on larger farms. Labouring on larger farms was also less common in less accessible locations more distant from urban centres where fewer larger farms were located.

Nevertheless, in a number of communities where there is a good range of land holding sizes, casual labour, sharecropping, land rental arrangements and small-scale land sales within the community were all reported as spontaneous internal arrangements for gaining supplementary access to land and to farm incomes. In other cases the link between diminishing land access and reduced labour demands and increasing importance of pensions and welfare payments together with outmigration by younger generations was clear, and these had become the second most important income sources after farming.

The importance of family farming as the main source of income supplemented by casual labour, pensions and welfare tended to decline generally, moving from East to West from the forest into the transition zone where medium and larger scale farms were more common and historical dependence on casual labour combined with small-scale subsistence farming was a common arrangement, as in much of northeast Brazil. In three cases, a semi-urbanised settlement in Ubaíra with high landlessness and unemployment and more remote communities in Ubaíra and Cravolândia close to large estates, casual labouring was reported to be the most important source of income. In some remote locations in the forest zone casual labour outside the community was less important, in part because of improving access to market, technical assistance and credit and continuing availability of land for young farmers. In the remote community of Rua da Palha in Mutuípe farmers reported that there was no demand for labour in the immediate neighbourhood and that they had to leave for a week or two at a time to find work preparing pasture during the low season for cocoa production.

⁸⁰ Discussion with Sra Taná, President during meeting with the community association at Pindoba, Mutuípe, on 23 July 2010

However in another remote community in Jiquiriçá located in a former logging concession, which had not benefited from the same assistance as communities in Mutuípe, residents reported that they had virtually no farm labour opportunities and reported migrant labour as the most important source of income following farming and pension and welfare payments.

Where labour opportunities were not available, pensions and welfare became relatively more important as income sources after agriculture. In all cases a section of the community also relied on welfare and pension payments from the state. *Bolsa familia* [state family welfare grants] *provides a great help so that children don't go hungry*⁸¹. Pensions paid to former rural workers were viewed as a very important income source for those families that included pensioners. In some cases most families had a family member receiving a welfare grant: *the majority receive bolsa familia, except the most needy*⁸². In two locations residents pointed out that in the poorest families young people or single women with babies had no alternative but to live in their parent's houses, but eligibility for the grant was assessed on a household basis. In cases where very little cocoa was grown and sections of the community were landless or with very little land, pensions and welfare grants had become more important than agriculture as sources of income, as reported by two communities in Ubaíra traditionally reliant on casual labouring and one group in Cravolândia seeking land reform. The broader dimensions and effects of social policies for payment of family welfare grants and rural pensions are discussed below in section 5.7.

Access to formal employment was low or non-existent, confined to a few people in villages nearer town. A small number of people in most communities had invested in small-scale trade, opening shops and bars, or in improved transport, used to generate cash income by providing school transport or freight for community members to get crops to town.

Gender relations appear to be more equitable in the various municipalities of the forest zone than elsewhere, for example in Mutuípe, Laje and Jiquiriçá approximately 30 – 35% of farms are managed by women in contrast to 5 – 25% in transitional and semi-arid areas. However daily wage rates for casual labour remain lower for women than for men. Elsewhere in the valley gender relations appear to be more unequal as a result of the traditional gender division of labour that developed amongst tenants and labourers on large estates in northeast Brazil.

⁸¹ Interview with Sr Benedito, President of a producers' association in Parafuso, Mutuípe on 15 August 2010

⁸² Community discussion as Paul Seco, Mutuípe on 23 July 2010

Land reform, where this has taken place, provides women with some farm employment and active roles in community organisation, and the payments of rural pensions and *bolsa familia* provide single women and others from poor households with a measure of financial independence. In the rural communities' field survey, women were observed frequently to be involved in a leadership capacity locally in community associations, and in a number of cases the same women had become active in the rural union movement.

5.5.1 Labour migration

Lack of land, local labour opportunities and capital to invest in agriculture has led to out-migration by younger generations. Where lack of resources prevents the establishment of new viable farm businesses younger generations now tend to respond by selling small portions of inherited land or consolidating farm operations under the control of specific family members. Communities visited in the forest zone estimated that approximately one third of young people tend to leave, whereas in transitional areas of Ubaíra estimates were higher, around 50%. According to IBGE and SEI data the rural population of the Jiquiriçá valley declined from 54.3% in 1991 to 46.3% in 2006, and population growth rates fell from an annual average of 1.56% in 1991 –2000 to 0.975% in 2000 – 2006, a change attributed by local informants to a combination of family-planning and outmigration. Despite this general trend of growth in out-migration, the field research and closer analysis of demographic data (summarised in Table 5.3) reveal important qualifications and differences between locations.

Firstly, municipalities with highly unequal agrarian structures and facing the collapse of the traditional rural economy such as Brejões and Santa Ines have suffered net losses of population, as both agricultural and urban employment are scarce. The municipalities with rapidly declining rural populations, and with net losses of rural population as a whole can be directly correlated with those experiencing high unemployment due to the collapse of coffee or of semi-arid crops (see Table 5.3).

Secondly, however, in more productive municipalities of the forest zone, such as Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Laje and Sao Miguel das Matas, rural populations have continued to grow, albeit at a lower rate than in the towns. Nevertheless, farming communities visited estimated that between one third and half of young people tend to leave. They reported that where there is no scope to establish viable new small farm businesses, younger generations tend to respond by selling inherited portions of land or consolidating farm operations under the control of a

specific family member. At the same time income growth from cocoa and associated crops combined with all round improvements in living conditions acted as a brake on out-migration, as described by families in rural communities in Rua da Palha in Mutuípe: *the older people plant cocoa and the younger people also plant cocoa. Young people are staying now, before they used to leave to find work more.*⁸³ Residents cited continuing land availability, generally improving conditions, and better access to health care, education and markets for farm produce as the reasons. In Pau Seco, also in Mutuípe *all families have children living away from home... the young men leave more, but young women leave as well*⁸⁴. In Pindoba, due to lack of available agricultural land: *both men and women leave equally, lots of people go to Sao Paulo but the majority come back....*⁸⁵. In locations outside of Mutuípe that had not benefited from the same type of support, reliance on out migration was reported to be even greater, with the majority of young people leaving.

The destinations for migrants from the Jiquiriçá valley were reported by local communities to be extremely diverse, including local and regional towns and cities, particularly Salvador, but also São Paulo for industrial work, and a range of other destinations. Migration also varies according to location and appears to follow different patterns, according to the nature and prosperity of the local economy and specific traditional linkages that have emerged between sending and receiving communities. Seasonal and permanent migration has increased from former coffee growing and semi-arid areas to thriving coffee growing regions in western Bahia and Minas Gerais, but also to industrial cities in southern Brazil. Santa Inês for instance has built up strong linkage with emerging new industrial centres in Santa Catarina, Brazil's southernmost state.

Although the children of farming families in the forest zone also migrate to the south, they also seek better living conditions, education and employment in local towns, Salvador and other regional centres, while retaining attachments to their native family lands. There are no large industries located within the valley, although trade and services in growing market towns such as Mutuípe provide some opportunities. The major regional cities such as Santo Antonio de Jesus have large urban populations of their own as well as wide catchment areas for urban migrants, and do not absorb much of the Jiquiriçá valley's surplus labour. Both

⁸³ Points made during discussion with the community association at Rua da Palha, Mutuípe 24 July 2010

⁸⁴ Community discussion as Paul Seco, Mutuípe on 23 July 2010

⁸⁵ Discussion with Sra Taná, President during meeting with the community association at Pindoba, Mutuípe, on 23 July 2010

sons and daughters alike tend to pursue education in neighbouring towns or to migrate in search of work, encouraged by the expansion of educational opportunities in recent years and by equal-opportunity legislation. In the forest zone, as noted by farmers during the rural communities' survey and by various other informants, there is marked tendency for return migration with returnees using their resources to buy additional plots of land and establish new cocoa plantations and / or invest in transport facilities or small-scale trade and retail businesses.

In parts of Ubaíra with medium sized land holdings, some better-off farmers have moved into town because of isolation and insecurity. Some landowners have sought to compensate for the decline of earnings from cocoa and coffee by developing small-scale dams for recreational fishing. Larger rural settlements comprising multiple small farming households here and in other municipalities are more stable and a number of small shops, bars, vehicles have increased and access to rural services has improved.

Males and females migrate in equal proportions according to informants in the rural communities visited. At the same time women were more actively engaged in community activities and associations, and were said to be more likely than young men to remain at home to work on farms, trade in processed farm products and look after children, whereas young men are more likely to be unemployed or to seek casual work elsewhere. People also retain attachments to family lands, and there is a marked tendency for return migration, as returnees can buy small plots of land, establish new cocoa plantations and invest in vehicles or small-scale business. For example in Pindoba, Mutuípe: *one lady was in Sao Paulo for 24 years working as a domestic servant came back and bought half a hectare of land to produce coco and chickens.*⁸⁶

5.5.2 Livelihood trajectories

In forest and some transitional areas an extremely wide range of livelihood trajectories are encountered, reflecting the opportunities, constraints and choices faced by farmers in different locations and at different stages of the family farm life cycle. These are summarised overleaf in Table 5.5.

⁸⁶ Discussion with Sra Taná, President during meeting with the community association at Pindoba, Mutuípe, on 23 July 2010

Table 5.5 Typical trajectories and asset bases of farm households in the cocoa growing region of the Jiquiriçá valley (Source: author's compilation based on fieldwork findings)

Types of farm household	Asset base and income sources	Typical trajectories
Large-scale farmers engaged in cocoa trade	Multiple land holdings of 500 ha or more (cocoa and cattle farming) and other investments in cocoa trade, construction, retail and real estate	Of rural origin, typically sons of landowners taking up trade and reinvesting profits in land acquisition and additional commercial ventures, producing clonal cocoa varieties. Few in number, typically male of white European origin. Dominant cocoa traders fall into this group
Medium to large-scale cocoa farmers	Cocoa supplemented by cattle, bananas and cassava on farms typically 100 – 200 ha and up to 500 ha. Small-scale buyers and traders in cocoa and farm inputs	Of rural origin operating farms on inherited land holdings, may have expanded operations by market purchase of additional land, or plan to expand. Typically combine cocoa with cattle and may have converted from cattle to cocoa. Usually males of white European origin. May or may not live on farm and manage operations directly
Medium to large-scale cattle farmers	Large-scale inherited or acquired land holdings under pasture of 100 ha or more with investments in urban business and property, typically in Salvador	Descendants of traditional rural elites, with families active in business and politics, or outside purchasers. Typically resident off-farm, often outside the territory. Farm enterprises face declining productivity, generally maintained for speculative or tax purposes. More hands on and entrepreneurial cattle farmers may also invest in dairy production, cocoa and /or other crops.
Medium-scale farmers	Cocoa, cattle, cassava, bananas and other crops bananas 30-100 ha, may also have small-medium business investments, commercial activities including trade in farm produce	Diverse trajectories: i) Sons (and sometimes daughters) of farming families operating consolidated family holdings or expanded land holdings through marriage or small-scale purchase. Primary income may come from non-farm business or from diversified farm production including cocoa, bananas, cassava in some cases supplemented by small-scale fruit, specialist products, aquaculture, or small-scale dairy farming. ii) incoming business people or professionals acquiring small-medium land holdings under cocoa. Partial substitution of traditional for clonal cocoa varieties by both groups, depending on available capital.
Small – medium-scale farmers	Cocoa, cassava, bananas and other crops plus domestic livestock, typically on 5 - 30 ha, sometimes on multiple plots. May have small-scale investments in agro-processing (cassava, fruit products) rural trade and transport.	Diverse, including both upwardly and downwardly mobile, of poorer or wealthier origin; frequently face decisions to consolidate family holdings for operation by specific family members, or actively seeking alternative livelihoods for self or children. May purchase additional plots to expand operations. Obtain credit through PRONAF, may also work or operate small-scale business off farm, including transport services for local community. Some households in receipt of <i>Bolsa Familia</i> ; may have partially substituted cocoa trees with clonal varieties. Male or female headed households of diverse social origin.
Small-scale farmers 1 – 5 ha	Cocoa and bananas plus cassava and other field / fruit crops depending on land availability, supplemented by subsistence and small-scale marketing of diverse farm products	Increasing or declining farm output dependent on production decisions and market / natural conditions. Low but regular incomes from small areas of unimproved cocoa, but generally reliant on casual labour for other farmers (men) and/or small-scale processing and sale of farm produce(women) to supplement farm income. Most households in receipt of <i>Bolsa Familia</i> or rural pensions. Engaged in PRONAF, generally used for cassava or bananas. Small numbers of domestic animals. Male or female headed households often of Afro-descendent or mixed race origin.
Households with micro holdings <1ha	Small-scale plots under 1 ha subsistence production supplemented by casual and seasonal labour, or small-scale cocoa earnings	Poor families with sub-divided land holdings, often including a few cocoa trees and small subsistence plots. Largely reliant on farm labour, casual employment or <i>Bolsa Familia</i> ; Families or single women with children, or single pensioners with small garden plots. Usually of Afro-descendent and mixed race origins.

In an overall context of declining access to land, these include both upward mobility and increasing opportunity amongst poor small farmers, and downward mobility of former colonial families who have not diversified from cattle production or dependence on unimproved cocoa monoculture. Individual and household assets and capabilities determine the opportunities pursued and the outcomes obtained by individual actors, and amongst these factors principal variables appear to be access to land, affecting agricultural potential, and proximity to municipal urban centres, affecting access to education, services and employment opportunities.

The spatial variations in development revealed in the rural field survey relate not only to natural resource productivity and access to land in different parts of the valley but also depend on proximity and connectedness to population centres, markets and services. Communities closer to urban centres had, unsurprisingly, closer interactions with them, were more densely settled and tended to be more prosperous. As a result land holdings tended to be smaller due to subdivision, and land markets were more active. There were larger numbers of neighbouring medium sized and large-scale farms, mainly converted to pasture, which provided casual labour opportunities. Marketing crops was easier as was access to health care and education. Space was extremely limited for extensive, subsistence crops such as cassava, maize and beans and as a result cocoa was the main agricultural crop in most cases. Farmers essentially produced cash crops and some fruit and vegetables for home consumption but bought in most household foods. As a result of limited land access and greater proximity to town rates of outmigration were higher with a substantial proportion of young people leaving. Communities close to town reported that young men and women leave for education and work in more or less equal proportions

More distant communities, such as Rua da Palha in Mutuípe tended to have larger plot sizes and more space for planting e.g. cassava which was still an important cash crop, and for subsistence crops and because of this out migration was reported to be lower. Greater availability of subsistence crops meant that less food needed to be bought in. They were also located at higher altitudes affecting the crops that could be grown, with less emphasis on cocoa. Communities were poorly connected with urban centres and had had improved roads,

and access to schools, health care and energy for shorter periods of time. Casual / seasonal labouring opportunities on larger farms were less and so cash incomes were lower, as were investments in improved housing, transport (cars or motorbikes) small-scale trade etc. Access to markets was more precarious but now better as a result of improved roads, although freight costs are higher. Such communities rely partially on pensions and welfare payments and on assistance through government programmes, which had been more systematically applied in Mutuípe. Two remote communities in Jiquiriçá and Cravolândia had developed as a result of logging and forestry activities (a concession and sawmill in Jiquiriçá and widespread informal timber extraction in Cravolândia. Now that deforestation is supervised and controlled by IBAMA and unlicensed timber cutting is illegal, employment and incomes have fallen. As access to land is limited and there is very little seasonal or casual labour in these locations outmigration is growing. In some case this was reported to be primarily by young men.

5.6 Environmental impacts of agricultural development

This section, reports the findings of investigation into the environmental impacts of land and natural resource use trend in the Jiquiriçá Valley, in order to assess whether or not the development dynamics that lead to overall economic growth, reductions in poverty and improvements in social inclusion are environmentally sustainable. It draws on a specific investigation of available data sources on environmental trends within the case study area (Tomasoni 2010), which I directed and supervised during fieldwork, and on the findings of the rural communities' survey and local informant interviews in relation to experience of environmental change.

Agricultural growth in the Jiquiriçá valley has developed at the expense of its pre-existing tropical forest ecosystems and impacted negatively on quality of soil and water resources. Deforestation due to establishment of cattle production, logging and agricultural land clearance, and poor land management in a region of predominantly steep topography have drastically reduced and degraded forest ecosystems and led to widespread soil erosion and siltation of water sources and the Jiquiriçá river itself.

The principal ecosystem services provided by the Jiquiriçá valley's natural resources that are importance to sustainable development, but threatened by existing models of agricultural

development that were identified by local researchers and development practitioners consulted, are as follows:

- Provision and maintenance of soil resources for agriculture and food production
- Regulation of the hydrological system – quantity and quality of water resources – of importance for human consumption and agriculture
- Regulation of local climatic conditions
- Cultural, recreational, scientific and economic values of unique landscape forest and water and resources important for tourism/ ecotourism development.

Based on the available evidence, summarised here, including reports of a limited number of previous investigative studies, and the views of local informants, it is already clear that deforestation, soil erosion and sedimentation and pollution of water bodies have occurred, directly resulting from agricultural development. This compromises the capacity of the Jiquiriçá valley's natural environment to maintain soil resources and to regulate the hydrological cycle, including supplies of clean water and prevention of flooding.

5.6.1 Brief history of environmental change in the valley

Historically, the fertile valley bottom soils were the first to be occupied, initially for sugar cane production in slave estates in Ubaíra and subsequently for rice production in Mutuípe. Slave labour was also used to clear large areas of land in the hills adjacent to the valley for extensive cattle production (Nascimento 2007). Forest clearance for pasture continued to expand in the late 19th and early 20th century to supply the rapidly expanding urban markets which emerged in the region following the end of slavery, and pasture remains the predominant land use in this area today.

In much of the lower and central river valley however, its steep undulating topography provided an obstacle to establishment of large-scale cattle farming, with the result that much of the hinterland came to be settled by former slaves and small-scale farmers making cash incomes by providing crops to regional markets. Despite the relatively low fertility of the forest soils, high rainfall and the abundance of land and labour enabled continuous production of crops such as cassava and tobacco, together with tropical fruits and subsistence crops by continued forest clearance in itinerant, shifting cultivation.

Although coffee became the valley's dominant cash crop in the mid-20th Century and the most profitable large-scale land use in upland areas of the transition zone, market demand was not sustained due to quality and phytosanitary problems and following successive price collapses and eradication campaigns in the 20th century, the principle option for landowners was (and still is) to convert coffee plantations to pasture. Whereas in semi-arid parts of the valley large cattle and former coffee estates have simply been abandoned or put up for land reform, rainfall levels in the forest and transition zones do permit continued pasture and cattle production, and following the collapse of coffee, most farmers lack the resources to invest in alternative crops or in better management and restoration of pasture. As a result many larger scale farmers are locked into a cycle of declining pasture and cattle productivity and increasing land degradation. Some have converted large areas to cocoa, or in some cases bananas and cassava, in the forest zone, or to passion fruit and other horticultural crops in the transition zone – however few can afford to do this on a large-scale, and cattle raising persists as an extensive land use, despite the overall decline registered in the last 10 – 15 years. Nevertheless, in horticultural areas exploitation of surface and underground water supplies for irrigation in the central valley also allowed establishment of year round horticultural and fruit production, supplying expanding urban markets.

As land clearance proceeded, farmers were also able to profit from sales of timber. In the 1960s the state government awarded large logging concessions in the western valley to *Incobal*, a timber company from Rio Grande do Sul, which established two sawmills, cleared large areas and built forest roads to facilitate agricultural settlement in return for access to the timber on private lands. Accessible stocks of valuable timber became exhausted in the 1990s⁸⁷. In semi-arid areas large areas of *caatinga* were also cleared for charcoal production, mainly for use by the steel producer *Ferbasa*⁸⁸. Although very little of the returns from timber and charcoal extraction were re-invested in the local economy these activities provided important sources of income.

Land pressure in the areas occupied by small-scale farmers, resulting from demographic growth, and the gradual expansion of farming in response to the continuing growth in market

⁸⁷ Account provided by local agronomist Valmir Souza, during a visit to part of the former INCOBAL concession area, 12 August 2009.

⁸⁸ As a result of the virtual exhaustion of the resource, and increased environmental regulation, FERBASA has acquired 30,000 hectares in Planaltino and Maracas municipalities for production of eucalyptus as a fuel source. (Fieldwork observation and information gathered in Maracas August 2009 and Planaltino, September 2010)

demand, has brought remaining forest areas into production and led to sub-division of land and continuous cropping of small plots. As a result soil resources are becoming degraded, farmers are more and more reliant on use of fertilizer and land use systems are reaching their limits of sustainability.

Degraded agricultural land and pasture is widely visible today, as are areas of semi-natural vegetation subject to secondary re-growth. In 2008, pasture occupied 79.5% of the valley's land area, as compared to approximately 17.5% natural and semi-natural ecosystems (dense evergreen forest, deciduous and semi-deciduous forest and savannah–steppe vegetation combined) and just over 3% agricultural land (Fernandes 2008, citing IBGE land cover data). Nevertheless, the landscape of much of the western valley is now a diverse and attractive mosaic of natural and agricultural environments with significant tourism potential, notably in the forest and transitional belts characterised by the presence of a large number of waterfalls and forest enclaves, including areas of high biodiversity value, in steeper more inaccessible areas.

The prevalence of tree crops, especially cocoa, and the spontaneous development of multi-storey agroforestry systems by farmers in the forest zone partially mimics forest cover and promotes soil and water conservation. Cocoa production has been central to increases in farm incomes, poverty reduction and urban commercial development in the forest zone and is a more sustainable land use than traditional farming.

Comparison of land use data for the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley from the 1996 and 2006 IBGE Agricultural Census data provides an indication of the principal agricultural land use changes underway, as shown in Figure 5.6 overleaf. According to this data the extent of pasture declined by approximately 50,000 ha, while the area under perennial crops and natural and planted forests respectively also increased in area by 30,000 hectares⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ These data need however to be treated with some caution. There is no evidence that natural forest area has increased, and the expansion recorded appears to derive from an increase in planted forests and woodlots (including commercial eucalyptus plantations) and regenerating secondary vegetation formerly classified as pasture or degraded land. Although this constitutes an important reserve of natural vegetation, possibly improving water infiltration, much of this is probably abandoned pasture located in semi arid areas, where soil erosion is already well advanced.

Fig 5.6 Changes in land use in the Jiquiriçá valley 1996 – 2006 (Source: IBGE Agricultural Census; data and graphic originally compiled by Fernandes (2008)⁹⁰)



Nonetheless, pasture continues to predominate as a land use, occupying 56.6% of the valley’s land area in 2006, as shown earlier in Figure 5.5. Nevertheless, the recovery of cocoa prices during the last decade, together with the prevalence of small-scale family farming in the eastern portion of the valley has favoured more environmentally sustainable land uses. There is an on-going trend for substitution of pasture by cocoa, although the rate of cocoa planting is directly related to market conditions, recently depressed but now improving. Nonetheless, farmers with insufficient working capital to plant new cocoa trees have continued to replace unproductive or diseased cocoa groves with other crops or pasture.

5.6.2 Available technical assessments of environmental change

Barreto *et al.* (2003) summarised the principal problems as inadequate land use practice in agriculture, including deforestation followed by use of fire to clear land for pasture and agriculture, inadequate techniques of mechanical ploughing and irrigation, and intensive use

⁹⁰ The 2006 land use data also suggests a significant decline in land area under temporary or annual crops of some 80,000 hectares, a change that is not compensated by increases in other land uses, and this is unexplained in the reporting of agricultural census data, or by Fernandes (2008). At least some of this apparent decline could be accounted for by abandonment of unproductive land previously identified as land under field crops such as maize and beans in semi-arid and possibly some transitional areas of the valley since 1996. However other possible explanations are that errors were made in the collection or reporting of data by IBGE for the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley in the successive censuses. These may have occurred because land areas identified in the 1996 census as under temporary crops were misreported as such, with substantial areas not actually being maintained under crops, perhaps because landowners concerned to avoid expropriation for land reform preferred to convey an impression of productive land use, or due to data being collected at different times in the season, and / or errors in calculating the total areas involved areas due to arithmetical mistakes, double counting or erroneous inclusion of additional land areas.

of fertilizers and agrochemicals. Jointly these were considered to have led to erosion and impoverishment of soil resources and to siltation and loss of water quality. Urban development has relied on the Jiquiriçá River as the principal water source and during the greater part of the 20th century untreated sewage, alongside solid waste was also discharged directly into the river.

Batista *et al.* (2002) identified the present state of natural resource as the cumulative result of incremental degradation which had already brought about an advanced process of erosion and soil loss, and instability and imbalance in natural regulation of water resources. This was the result of a primarily extractive natural resource-based economy which failed to replace or conserve resources used and added little value to agricultural and livestock products, the absence of municipal and urban planning processes or infrastructure to support urban development, and the fragmentation of public administration. Historical records from the early 20th Century (Nascimento 2007) indicate the presence of various local rivers together with a number of small lakes in the vicinity of Mutuípe, and most rural properties in the municipality formerly had their own water sources or perennial streams, many of which have now disappeared as a result of erosion and siltation.

A number of technical assessments of environmental degradation and specific dimensions of environmental change in the Jiquiriçá valley have been undertaken, but no systematic quantitative evidence is available of the extent of loss and degradation of vegetation cover and water resources over time. The understanding of trends thus relies on sporadic data sets of different kinds: oral testimony, anecdotal evidence and photographic records. The freely available satellite imagery is difficult to interpret due to cloud cover, steep topography and low resolution in relation to an extremely complex mosaic of diversified small-scale land use and remaining natural and secondary vegetation. The cartographic base is weak, topographic maps are out of date and thematic maps are only available at very large-scale.

Tomasoni (2003) developed a geo-environmental analysis of the Recôncavo Sul region (a geographical region previously used by the Bahia state government for development planning, including the eastern portion of the Jiquiriçá valley) for CAR, the Bahia state rural development agency. This study concluded that the region's natural conditions (steep slopes dissected by river systems, soil types and high rainfall) make it highly susceptible to geomorphological change and instability, and that soil and land degradation have been

aggravated by human activity, primarily the clearance of forest to establish pasture. The soils of the region are primarily clay soils of forest origin, relatively low fertility, high acidity, and strong susceptibility to erosion. Fertility is exhausted relatively rapidly following cultivation and use of fire, requiring repeated application of fertilizer for sustained agricultural use. Erosion is widespread as a result of steep topography, and generally high rainfall, and the landscape is subject to formation of ravines with rapid linear downslope transportation of eroded matter. Tomasoni observed the natural vegetation to be highly transformed, anthropogenically, but with distinctive remnants of the range of characteristic natural formations, showing evidence of recent degradation.

At the time of this study a process of substitution of perennial tree crops, such as cocoa, with pasture by large-scale farmers was underway as a result of the collapse in the price of cocoa. Although this trend has subsequently reversed, it led to a simplification of the pre-existing mosaic of farm land and natural vegetation, as well as impoverishment of soils as a result of compacting, trampling and formation of terraces, leading to an intensification of erosive processes, in the absence of any effective soil and pasture management by landowners⁹¹. The author noted an urgent need for technical assistance to promote better land management and control erosive processes.

The complexity of the hydrological network was found to have led to widespread degradation of water quality due to processes of soil erosion and transport and deposition of sediment towards and within the major rivers, including the Jiquiriçá, which because of its length receives and transports regular deposits of effluent and eroded matter from the entire valley, with degradation of water quality mitigated in the lower portions of the valley in the forest zone by large numbers of tributaries. The principal hydrological problems identified by Tomasoni were water pollution from domestic waste, local industries, petrol stations and vehicle washing (all situated in the river valley), destruction of riparian forests, siltation, and formation of swamps and dammed areas.

Fernandes (2008) developed a system for assessment of land use suitability based on detailed information on topography, slope, soil quality, rainfall and hydrology in the river basin area, and established a classification of areas of the river basin according to slope as a land use

⁹¹ These processes were also found to be associated with reduced use of farm labour, rural unemployment and accelerated growth of local towns

planning tool, shown below in Table 5.6. While steep slopes occur throughout the valley, the central area of *tabuleiros interioranos*, (interior plateaux), geologically part of the southern Bahia *planalto* where pasture is a significant land use, is marked by the presence of slopes between 21 and 45 % and consequently highly susceptible to erosion. Existing land use however does not conform to guidelines on suitability according to slope and erosion risk and natural ecosystems have been almost entirely transformed throughout the valley. Fernandes also reports shows that of the areas of private estates and farms prescribed for conservation under the law (riverine forests, water sources and steeply sloping land) only 13% are actually preserved in practice.

Table 5.6 Conservation areas prescribed by law and actually maintained in the Jiquiriçá valley (source: Fernandes 2008)

Permanent conservation areas	Areas for conservation by law (ha)	Areas effectively conserved (ha)
Riverine forest	6,629.07	857.22
Slopes > 45 ⁰	134.35	33.64
Springs and water sources	21.15	2.35

Another environmental researcher (Rocha 2008, Rocha *et al.* 2010,) established an analysis of water quality based on regular measurement of bio-physical indicators at designated points along the Rio Jiquiriçá. Rocha constructed an index of water quality based on information for volumes of water supply, drainage and sanitation, presence of disease vectors and socio-economic data. Water quality was found to be variable according to effectiveness of sewage treatment and disposal in different municipal towns, but generally low (Rocha 2008).

In reviewing the continuing trends, Tomasoni (2010) identified the striking predominance of (generally degraded) pasture land as a legacy of the historical occupation and traditional land use in the valley, and found that the on-going encroachment of pasture into forest remnants has had profound effects on water infiltration and storage capacity. Field observation indicates the presence of numerous classical morphological features of land degradation resulting from climatic processes exacerbated in the 20th century by land use trends, including formation of ravines and terraces on steep slopes. Consolidation of sediments and the extent of localized flooding in the Jiquiriçá estuary have advanced considerably from that observed in 2003, and inspection of recent sedimentary deposits indicates they originate primarily from latosols in the central Jiquiriçá valley, the area most susceptible to erosion where pasture is a

predominant land use. Other observations showed that ravine formation has intensified in the Amargosa / Brejões area in the last five years, involving the erosion of subsoil material resulting from gulleys and terracing caused by movement of cattle. Reports from residents of these parts of the Jiquiriçá valley indicate a lowering of the water table, suggesting a reduction of water infiltration and storage as a result of loss of vegetation and soil degradation.⁹²

Field observations confirm the tendency for pasture degradation, and a typical land use strategy in which landowners plant successively more tenacious but less productive species of grass following the degradation of previous pasture. Typically, replacement of *brachyaria spp.* pasture by ploughing in previously growth and treating soil with lime provides new land cover for no more than two years under intensive grazing, and requires complete renewal after two-to-four years⁹³.

5.6.3 Field survey findings on environment

The rural communities' field survey undertaken in Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Cravolândia municipalities, generated a series of observations of on-going environmental change and an understanding of environmental problems as perceived by local people. This confirmed general tendencies of continuing deforestation, and reduced water supplies, consistent with accounts of lower water levels of infiltration, increasing soil erosion and sedimentation of water sources identified in the technical literature. There are numerous forest remnants at higher altitudes in less densely populated locations, and on inaccessible hilltops and steep slopes, but in more populated areas no additional forest land is available for clearance. According to oral testimony and visual records, river flow of the Jiquiriçá and its tributaries has substantially reduced and become more irregular, as a result of reduced volumes of water and extensive siltation. Rivers and streams were also reported by farmers to be subject to increased incidence of flash flooding. Principal findings of environment of the rural field survey are summarised in table 5.7 overleaf.

⁹² Field observations by Prof. Marco Tomasoni, Geosciences Institute, UFBA 20 October 2010 (personal communication, November 2010)

⁹³ Raul Lomanto, Centro Sapucaia / EBDA Amargosa, and Prof. Marco Tomasoni, personal communications. Lomanto, an agronomist and leading local environmentalist, estimates that on present land use trends continue, soil productivity will be exhausted across the entire territory in 40 – 60 years.

Table 5.7 Environmental problems reported by 18 rural communities visited during fieldwork In the Jiquiriçá Valley 2009 -2010 ⁹⁴

Type of problem	Frequency	Perceived causes
Drying up of water sources and seasonal water shortages	10	Removal of watershed and riparian forest by local landowners and community members , siltation of water bodies; diversion of water courses and upstream construction of small dams by neighbouring landowners
Uncontrolled agrochemical use	10	“Predatory farming” rapid forest clearance for banana / cassava plantations
Destruction of conservation reserves and forest remnants	9	Expansion of pasture, forest clearance for banana cultivation by neighbouring farmers; lack of cultivable land in community due to subdivision
Declining arable productivity	6	Declining fertility due to Intensive cropping due to lack of access to land; land degradation and soil erosion in previous land uses (pasture); Reductions in rainfall, high temperatures and lack of shade cover (cocoa)
Increased incidence of water borne disease	5	Free access by cattle to water sources, failure by landowners to fence pasture
Illegal logging	5	Collaboration of local landowners and officials with criminal interests; lack of supervision
Diversion of water sources by neighbouring farmers	4	Action by farmers to improve water storage by using water sources passing through their properties
Illegal hunting	3	Traditional practice for sport and to supplement food supply, lack of supervision
Disappearance of fish from rivers	2	Chemical and biological pollution of rivers, reduction of river flow as a result of siltation
Increased incidence of Leishmaniasis	1	Deforestation and habitation close to deforested swampy areas
Flash flooding	1	Deforestation and soil degradation upstream
Total problems reported	56	

The main environmental problems reported involved continuing removal of forest remnants by neighbouring farmers and community members, and drying up of water sources, attributed to deforestation in over 50% of cases. Uncontrolled use of agrochemicals (herbicides, principally Round-up, and pesticides) was also widely reported. Declining arable productivity (attributed to exhaustion of soils and lack of resources for fertilizer), continuing illegal logging and high incidence of water borne diseases (attributed to pollution of water sources by animal or human waste) were reported in approximately 30% of cases. Illegal hunting was still practiced in less accessible forested areas, and in two cases community members

⁹⁴ In this table findings from the thirteen rural communities from July to September 2010 has been supplemented by inclusion of additional findings from five additional rural communities (two in Jiquiriçá and three in Ubaira) visited during the first stage of field research in August 2009.

recalled the presence of local fish stocks, now exhausted as a result of destruction of habitat and pollution and reduction of water supplies⁹⁵. Most communities reported that widespread logging had occurred in the past but that accessible timber was now exhausted, and remaining areas were subject to greater control and supervision. From 1966 to the early 1990s, the timber company INCOBAL acquired some 4000 ha of forest land for timber around the southern boundaries of Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra, also logging on private land throughout the forest zone, constructing access routes winding around the hilltops, still visible today, which facilitated access and clearance of land for pasture and cropping by landowners large and small.

Approximately 30% of the 18 communities visited reported localised environmental conflicts involving denunciation of neighbouring landowners to the authorities by community members for diversion of water sources or removal of forest conservation areas protecting water sources, also leading to retaliatory action and threats by landowners. Conflicts involving local farming communities, established large-scale cattle farmers and recent investors seeking short term profits from bananas and cassava production were evident during field work. Limitations in access to water sources, as a result of their general trend for degradation linked to the expansion of pasture, together with unequal land distribution have also brought about localized but apparently increasing incidence of disputes between small family farming communities and landowners. These relate to removal of remaining forest patches, diversion of water sources by larger farmers and failures to protect them from access by cattle. Resource scarcity has fostered the gradual spread of environmental awareness amongst small farmers and adoption of an environmental agenda by the rural unions and the associated social movement – not shared by farmers as a whole, many of whom continue to pursue short term economic gains without regard for social and environmental concerns. Both larger and smaller farmers contribute directly to resource degradation, and although they are increasingly coming to recognize this, in the absence of a coherent policy and institutional framework to promote diversification and improved land use, they have no real alternatives.

⁹⁵ In the towns in the main river valley there are also historical accounts of substantial fish stocks, now virtually absent.

5.7 The role and outcomes of public policy

This section provides an overview of the principal areas of public policy that have impacted on rural development in the case study area based on my acquired knowledge of Brazilian rural policy, and on information provided by co-researchers and by local informants in the rural communities' survey and in semi-structure interviews. Rural territorial development policies, specifically, are briefly referred to here, but these and the impacts these have had in the valley are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 7.

The state has played a key role in the market development in the Jiquiriçá valley's development through land dispensations and provision of infrastructure from the late 19th Century. More recently under the 1988 Constitution which broadened social rights, public policy has been a powerful driver shaping development in Northeast Brazil. The post-dictatorship constitution introduced policies of universal citizenship, social protection and productive inclusion which have been gradually strengthened and extended, notably since 2003 under two successive mandates of the Lula, PT led Federal government.

Local actors ascribe wellbeing and economic improvements not only to agricultural markets but to the expansion of public investment and the active role of the state. As farmers themselves reported during the field survey, and as noted by numerous other informants interviewed, much of the improvement in general living conditions and some of the improvements in agricultural markets have been policy-led.

Moreover, these state policies have had geographically variable impacts, as a result of the differing histories of agrarian structure and agrarian relations which developed in different parts of the valley: it is in the forest zone that policy changes have had more positive impacts on small-scale farming and on small farming families' livelihoods. During the rural community survey, small farmers themselves attributed improving social and economic conditions largely to state interventions to expanding infrastructure, services, credit, and welfare benefits for the poor.

Everything has got better but things could still improve more. The First mandate of Carlinhos (the Workers Party Prefect of Mutuípe, first elected in 2000 didn't bring our village so much, but the second mandate did, after the Lula government was elected [in

2003], we got the DRS [Regional Sustainable Development Programme, discussed in Chapter six]⁹⁶.

Twenty five years ago our community in Rua da Palha wasn't on the map, there was not transport, no good road, to go to school we has to get up at 3.00am and come back at night. The changes came in from 2000 onwards, we got a health post and better access to schools...we have energy since 2009.... young people are staying now....everyone studies, girls as well as boys... everyone has good water now⁹⁷.

Life has improved a lot in the last 10 to 15 years... housing transport, electrical energy, access to education and health, we have a primary school in the community, a community association, family planning, piped water since seven years ago⁹⁸

Under previous policies external support was largely confined to provision of community cassava mills but these did not function well, as no attention was paid to the management arrangements:

Previously a casa da farinha (cassava mill) was installed, but it stopped, it never functioned. We made the road ourselves in 1972. We have only had electricity and piped water since 2002⁹⁹.

5.7.1 Principal public policies impacting on rural development

The contrasting fortunes of coffee and cocoa in the region, the development of other agricultural markets and economic sectors and their territorial impacts result from the interaction of geographical, policy, market related and social factors. The growth and decline of these and other (agricultural) markets illustrates the importance of centralised state controls and policies on the market governance and economic development and the effects of different agrarian structures in the valley on the development outcomes in different places.

Five broad sets of public policies affecting market and economic development in the Jiquiriçá valley are relevant, summarised in Table 5.8, overleaf. Following the table, each of these policy areas is discussed in turn, with further reference to informants' views, and to other information gathered during the research.

⁹⁶ Interview with Sr Benedito, President of a producers' association in Parafuso, Mutuípe on 15 August 2010.

⁹⁷ Points made during discussion with the community association at Rua da Palha, Mutuípe 24 July 2010.

⁹⁸ Points made by Fojo community residents association at a meeting on 22 July 2010.

⁹⁹ Community discussion at Pau Seco, Mutuípe on 23 July 2010.

Table 5.8 Policy interventions impacting on rural development in the Jiquiriçá valley

Policy area	Specific interventions	Period	key actors
a) Agriculture Sector Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coffee eradication • Cocoa promotion / accelerated growth programme (PAC) 	Historical and on-going	Federal: MINAG, CEPLAC, EMBRAPA State Government: EBDA
b) Agrarian Development – support to family sector farming, land reform	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRONAF (credit) • ATER (extension) • Land Reform (INCRA & PCF) • Public food acquisition (PAA / PNAE) 	From 1995 (FHC government; significant expansion by Lula government from 2003	Federal: MDA (SAF / SDT), Development Banks (PRONAF), INCRA (land reform); Bahia State Government: SUAF (Superintendencia de Agricultura Familiar); EBDA
c) Decentralisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal financial transfers to Municipalities 	1988 Constitution onwards; significant expansion under Lula government from 2003	Federal and State government: Municipal Participation Fund; receipt by Municipal governments
d) Social income transfers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural Pensions • <i>Bolsa Familia</i> • Social assistance • School and social feeding and food acquisition PAA and PNAE) 	1988 Constitution onwards; development from 1995 and expansion by Lula government from 2003	Federal: Social Development Ministry and National Social Security Institute MDS, INSS Municipal role in delivery,
e) regional Economic and Territorial Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Territorios de Cidadania and Territorios de Identidade • Regional economic and urban development 	from 2003 expanded from 2007 Historical and on-going	Federal: MDA , Casa Civil (Presidencia); Bahia State Government - SEPLAN / SEAGRI territorial Collegiate fora Bahia State Government – SEPLAN / SEDUR; <i>Caixa Economica Federal</i> / PAC; Municipalities and Private sector

Public investment in infrastructure has enabled agricultural settlement and development to occur. Historically, the construction of the now closed Jiquiriçá Valley railway was of central importance, as was the construction of roads. Since the late 20th Century, and particularly under the Lula government since 2003, investment social infrastructure and services has increased enormously in the areas of health, education, electricity, water supplies and the rural road network, all of which has improved living conditions economic for rural people.

Agricultural policy has played a significant role in various ways, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Since the 1930s, centralised agricultural policy interventions sought to control production problems and meet national production and marketing targets. For most of the 20th Century, assistance and credit were primarily directed towards large and medium-scale producers, rather than addressing poverty reduction or local economic development

objectives. Policy restrictions on coffee production had huge negative impact on the valley's economy and on farm employment. Promotion of cocoa however has great benefits for small farmers and for local economic development, because of the predominance of small farmers in cocoa growing areas. CEPLAC has provided technical advice and disease resistant planting material to farmers and CEPLAC staff claimed that most small farmers are actively substituting traditional with disease resistant clonal varieties¹⁰⁰. Those familiar with cloning techniques can also earn additional income selling seedlings and providing skilled labour on other farms¹⁰¹.

Agrarian development policies introduced by the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) from the mid-1990s onwards, and expanding significantly from 2003 under the Lula government targeted small-scale family farmers directly¹⁰². Due to variations in the numbers of small farmers, and in agro-ecological conditions and productivity across different sub-regions of the valley these policies have had different effects in different locations, benefiting particularly the valley's eastern forest zone where small farmers are concentrated.

PRONAF, a national family sector credit programme administered by public development banks was introduced in 1996. Initially concentrated in southern Brazil where family farming was more developed, PRONAF later expanded throughout the country to provide peasant farmers with assistance with small-scale investment, working capital and bridging support for household expenditure pending harvest time. PRONAF was widely taken up across the forest belt and to a much lesser degree elsewhere. Between 2000 and 2009 PRONAF delivered over 36,000 contracts in the Jiquiriçá valley, with a total value of R\$91,659. According to MDA data 72.5% of credit provided between 2000 and 2006 in the valley was to farmers in lower income groups. As confirmed by farming communities investigated, this enabled them to diversify and increase productivity. Credit uptake peaked in 2006 when 6,874 contracts were issued, concentrated in municipalities with the largest number of family farmers in the forest zone, and areas supplying the expanding horticulture market in Jaguaquara.

¹⁰⁰ Group discussion with staff at the CEPLAC regional office in Mutuípe, 5 August 2009.

¹⁰¹ Discussion on 30 July 2010 with Sr Antonio in Jiquiriçá, a small-scale farmer who has substituted all the older trees on his cocoa plot of 4 *tarefas* with clonal varieties. Having undertaken a cocoa cloning course he now undertakes cloning for other farmers for a fee of R\$30 per day, considerably higher than daily labouring rates. Antonio also worked as a caretaker the Jiquiriçá Valley hotel and periodically as a Sushi chef in São Paulo.

¹⁰² Federal Law 11,326 established official guidelines for formulation of national policies for family farming and rural family businesses in 2006.

However technical assistance and advice to small-scale farmers has lagged behind credit provision and after 2006 PRONAF was restricted due to widespread defaults and growing indebtedness. Provision of technical assistance has been problematic following neo-liberal reforms in the 1990s which largely dismantled state managed extension services in Bahia and left both leaving EBDA and CEPLAC with greatly reduced resources. Extension methods based on a conventional training and visit approach, and reliant on spontaneous technological diffusion for scaling up, proved largely ineffective for farmers operating at low productivity with limited access to inputs skills and finance. According to Agricultural Census data only 6.7% of farmers in the Jiquiriçá valley received any technical assistance in 2006. Although national policy now foresees development of a pluralistic extension system operating through networks of public and private providers, NGOs, and farmers' organisations based on common principles and more participatory methodologies, such a network has not so far emerged in the Jiquiriçá valley.

Recent improvements have been introduction of the Federal *Agroamigo* farmer advisory scheme linked to PRONAF and designed to ensure its correct application and prevent the spread of farmer indebtedness, and increases in EBDA's budget granted by state government. However weak or absent extension support was still a frequently cited constraint by farmers during the rural community's field survey conducted in 2010. In Jiquiriçá municipality, the Andaraí community members said that the technicians from EBDA and CEPLAC gave contradictory recommendations¹⁰³. In Boqueirão, an upland cocoa farming area of Ubaira, farmers pointed out that when extension technicians did come the methods they promoted were not adapted to local realities¹⁰⁴. The exceptions were communities in Mutuípe where producer associations had benefited from specific programme of technical support developed by the local authority and the rural unions.

Land reform provides some new opportunities but does not address the region's problems of highly unequal land holding and excessive land fragmentation amongst small farmers. Government established a National Land Reform Programme in 1996 in response to nationwide mobilisations and land occupations by rural unions and social movements, under which INCRA (the national land reform and colonisation institute) received additional budget resources to expropriate underutilised land in favour of land less farmers, in accordance with

¹⁰³ Visit to Andaraí on 29 August 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Visit to Boqueirão on 28 August 2010.

the Constitution. From 2000 onwards land reform settlements became established with minimal conflict in semi-arid areas in the West of the Jiquiriçá valley, since large tracts of land were abandoned, and owners were eligible to receive state compensation for state expropriation. These land reform projects were initiated by the rural union federation FETAG working through local rural unions, in one case by MST and in others spontaneously by landless groups.

FETAG, as a member of CONTAG, the largest national rural workers confederation, and more recently FETRAF subsequently agreed to participate in the formerly controversial World Bank designed *Programa Crédito Fundiário* – PCF – or land purchase credit programme, which assisted landless groups to negotiate with landlords on the open market to acquire smaller tracts of land which did not meet expropriation criteria. PCF also provided credit for small-scale capital investments in land development, requiring a high degree of organisation and collaboration by beneficiaries and as a result having had mixed results, with some projects described by informants in Brejões as complete failures. The Lula Government adopted a second national land reform programme in 2003, although the momentum of the national land reform movement has waned (as a result of income transfers and other programmes offering the poor less risky and demanding income generating alternatives). Although large areas remain available for land reform in the Jiquiriçá valley, the problem faced by both INCRA's land reform and land purchase credit programmes is that most of the available land is unproductive or degraded, located in low rainfall, semi-arid or rocky upland areas with thin soils, where soil and water management is difficult and costly. Nevertheless access to credit, water and electricity supplies has gradually improved the viability of land reform settlements in the valley which have succeeded in cassava, passion fruit, small-scale dairy and irrigated and horticulture flower production, as observed during fieldwork, for instance the FETRAF supported *Força Jovem de Ubaira*, land purchase credit project.

By 2006 sixteen land reform settlements had been established within the valley with 1,388 beneficiaries, and a further 9 encampments were established during the next two years by groups awaiting definitive transfers of land rights from the previous owners . Land reform beneficiaries remain relatively few, but the numbers of land reform settlements are gradually increasing, and impacts are discernible in the 2006 agricultural census land holding data and in farm production figures for Cravolândia, Maracás, Nova Itarana, Planaltino, and Santa

Inês municipalities, all of which have low rural population densities and relatively few pre-existing small farms.

Although land reform policies provide some new opportunities, they are unable to effect a fundamental transformation of the region's highly unequal land holding structures, despite continuing demands resulting from limitations on land access amongst the poorest farmers and continuing intergenerational sub-division of small holdings. In the more productive eastern forest zone the larger land holdings of around 500 ha are below the minimum area for expropriation even when unproductive¹⁰⁵. On the other hand, following the cocoa boom and growth of interest amongst larger farmers and business people in acquiring land in the valley, land values are generally too high for eligibility for purchase under the land credit programme. Farmers are reluctant to move to join projects in unfamiliar less productive conditions, so at present without large investments in land acquisition and restoration land reform does not offer them sustainable alternatives.

Decentralisation and Federal support to municipalities: Large increases in financial transfers to municipal government resulted from the 1988 Constitution's commitment to decentralisation and also as a result of the progressive creation or "emancipation" of municipalities as new political administrative units. The establishment of new municipalities in Bahia during the 20th century has taken place as a result of social expectations for better access to government, health and education services and efforts by large rural landowners to achieve localised political control. The number of municipalities in Brazil increased from 4,102 to 5,507 between 1984 and 1997, an increase of 34.3%. 52% of the newly created municipalities had fewer than 5,000 inhabitants (Gomes 2001).

Federal transfers seek to reverse or attenuate marked inter-regional inequalities, and they provide substantial and essential financial support to local government. The growth of public investment in Northeast Brazil followed a succession of droughts which undermined traditional crop and livestock production by large *latifundia*, and subsistence farming by tenants and labourers. Through generating employment and injecting money into municipal economies, Federal financial transfers have helped to attenuate migration from impoverished

¹⁰⁵ The minimum land area for expropriation is defined centrally by INCRA as 15 *modulos fiscais* ("fiscal modules"): estimates of the minimum area considered necessary to support a farm household, standardised each municipality based on an assessment of the dominant production systems. These measures assume extensive production systems and do not reflect different levels of integration into markets. For the semi-arid municipalities of the valley a module is 65 hectares and in the forest zone 35 hectares.

municipalities in Northeast Brazil to large urban centres. They also sustain the existence of very small municipalities without adequate fiscal base or technical capacity for public administration. The expansion of municipal public education, health, and social care provides some market for local trade and a limited stimulus for agricultural production including the supply of basic goods and services to local government and to public servants, often the only salaried personnel present.

Despite erosion of the traditional economic power of landowning elites in Northeast Brazil, due to drought, market crises, and strengthened labour rights, federal transfers contribute to the maintenance of patronage-based conservative political power through creation of public employment and selective service provision to politically loyal groups. In the Jiquiriçá valley from 2000 to 2004, municipal budget receipts rose by 50% and the share attributed to federal transfers by 82%¹⁰⁶, far exceeding the values of municipal tax revenues and agricultural production especially in those smaller municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley with a narrow productive base. According to Gomes (2001), 92.3% of the revenue of municipalities in the semi-arid Northeast in 1997 derived from federal transfers (in contrast to an average of 66.4% for Brazil as a whole) and only 7.7% from local taxation, and public employment grew by 57.4% across the semi-arid Northeast in the same period. For the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley, based on figures from IBGE and the National Confederation of Municipalities, combined Municipal budget receipts increased by almost 50% in the 2000-2004 period, but the share attributed to federal transfers rose by 82%. The actual volume of taxation revenue rose from around R\$1.7 million to just over R\$5 million compared with total budget receipts of R\$105million, rising to R\$175 million.

Use of Federal resources to create public employment and respond to local demands for improved infrastructure, services and employment has been a key strategy of local elites to secure votes to maintain political power and associated economic opportunities. The establishment of small rural towns such as Cravolândia, Irajuba and Nova Itarana as municipalities with entitlements to federal transfers has enabled dominant families to achieve and maintain local political and economic power. Yet in these places without significant populations or development opportunities, activities directly related to public administration constitute by far the largest economic sector, proportionally greater than in larger, more productive municipalities, a situation characterised by Gomes (2001) as “an economy without

¹⁰⁶ Figures from IBGE and the National Confederation of Municipalities.

production”, exemplified by a number of semi-arid and former coffee producing municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley. Government has not sought explicitly to link the financing of public administration to local economic development, but the expansion of municipal public education, health, and social care facilities has created a significant and growing market for local trade. Nevertheless the greater part of commercially available basic goods and foodstuffs still originate in the industrial sector concentrated in the south of Brazil.

Policies for income support to the poor: rural pensions and family income support: Policies for income support to the poor originate in struggles for social rights during the dictatorship, and the subsequent incorporation of rural workers’ rights to retirement pensions in the 1988 Constitution (Brant 2001). Income transfers to the urban and rural poor increased steadily under successive Federal Governments in the last 15 years, particularly since 2004, under the Lula government. Because of the fragile local economies and high unemployment in Northeast Brazil where large number of elderly people formerly worked as tenant farmers and seasonal labourers, rural pensions are a highly significant income source, as observed in the Jiquiriçá valley during the rural communities’ field survey. Publically administered pensions, and are the principle form of income support, nationally, costing the equivalent of 11% of GDP nationally, in 2011. Rural pensions, equivalent to some 1.4% of GDP (Hall 2012), provide a major injection of resources into rural economies, and *Bolsa Familia* and pension payments in rural areas are together equivalent to approximately 2% of national GDP (Hall, personal communication, 2014). However pension payments are highly significant for rural territories in Northeast Brazil such as the Jiquiriçá Valley: for all 21 municipalities of the valley combined, public pension payments were worth R\$304.5 million in 2009, equivalent to 24.6% of the combined municipal GDP in 2007 (UNEB / ITCP 2010).¹⁰⁷

In the mid-1990s the social democratic FHC government introduced a series of specific income transfers, including *Bolsa Escolar*, designed to meet costs of low income families associated with schooling and reduce the use of child labour. From 2003, the Lula Government integrated this into a unified welfare payment, *Bolsa Familia*, which is now the largest conditional cash transfer programme in the world, assisting 13 million families in 2011 (Hall 2012). The programme targets very poor households with monthly income below

¹⁰⁷ Municipal GDP figures were not available for 2009; as GDP can be assumed to have increased in the two years from 2007, the proportionate value of pension payments in 2009 itself would have been somewhat less, perhaps around 20%.

50% of the minimum wage¹⁰⁸, including those without children and those with incomes below the minimum wage are also entitled to assistance, on the condition that children maintain school attendance rates at a minimum of 85%, and participate in vaccination programmes. In this way the programme aims simultaneously to combat poverty and strengthen human capital.

In the Jiquiriçá Valley the 2010 census recorded 43,789 families receiving the grant, corresponding to approximately 47% of households¹⁰⁹. The total value varies from around R\$600,000 in small municipalities to over R\$2.5 million in larger ones, something between 2 and 5% of municipal GDP¹¹⁰, increasing year on year as more families join the programme.

In semi-arid locations the maintenance of trade is entirely dependent on the monthly payments of municipal salaries, pensions, and *Bolsa Família*, whereas in the forest zone and other more productive areas agricultural growth is the major factor stimulating the growth of the commercial sector. Traders interviewed in four municipalities (see section 5.8.1 of this chapter) spanning the valley's different agricultural regions all confirmed the importance of income transfers and the existence of a monthly business cycle that is strongest in the days immediately following pension and welfare payments.

In the more productive areas where small and medium farmers have planted cocoa or diversified successfully out of coffee into horticulture, social income transfers can be considered to have a multiplying effects on income distribution, employment and economic growth by contributing to the resilience of farm households, and providing additional stimulus to trade and small-scale investment, thus strengthening the virtuous circle connecting growth in the farming and service sectors. Nationally, 75% of beneficiaries are economically active (Hall 2008) and this is consistent with the picture that emerged in the forest zone of the Jiquiriçá valley. As described by a number of rural women during fieldwork, income transfers providing a degree of stability in household incomes and can subsidise diversification of farming activities, small-scale agro-processing and trading activities, even in periods when prices for principle products have been depressed:

¹⁰⁸ At the end of 2010 the value of the minimum wage was R\$140.

¹⁰⁹ Municipal data gathered during fieldwork suggests that approximately 90% of rural families in most locations receive *Bolsa Família*. 63% of all families declared incomes below half the minimum wage, including approximately 80% of families in semi-arid municipalities where poverty is concentrated.

¹¹⁰ Estimates based on figures provided from National Federation of Municipalities for 2004 and others provided by municipal secretariats, compared with SEI data on Municipal GDP.

Very few people live just on Bolsa Familia, it is a complement to other activities¹¹¹.

Young women are now learning new skills how to produce sweets, banana flour, produce more and sell the produce¹¹².

Bolsa Familia has clearly had positive impacts: 75% of transfers reached the poorest 20% and estimated to account for one sixth of poverty reduction in Brazil in the period between 2001 and 2008 (Hall 2012). However cash transfers are also problematic because there is no mechanism to link them to productive economic development. Hall (2008, 2012) warns that *Bolsa Familia* is a “double edged sword” with risks that it will become entrenched, instead of being a temporary measure as originally conceived, because it is relatively low cost, absorbing only 8% of social spending and 0.4% of GDP in 2011, and as a unified system of social income transfers, cheap to administer. Hall (2008) also finds evidence that the programme has been used for electoral purposes both at national level and in an estimated 10% of municipalities (de Janvry *et al.* 2009), with enrolment drives taking place shortly before the 2006 elections. In some cases *Bolsa Familia* payments are equivalent to as much as 40% of municipal budgets, and 20% of municipalities have been found to have no effective monitoring arrangements to guarantee beneficiary compliance with conditionalities (Hall 2008).

The reductions in poverty and inequality achieved across the Jiquiriçá valley and many other regions of Brazil are in part due to social income transfers and are unlikely to be sustainable if transfers stop. The risks of continued dependency are greatest outside of productive areas with broad access to land, where the principal role of Federal transfers has been to provide a safety net for the local economy, local government and the population at large, in circumstances of overall economic decline. In order to be transformative, cash transfers must assist livelihoods development (IDS 2006), requiring integration with social and economic investment plans, something which could potentially be organised by territorial collegiate territorial fora and local producers associations. Indeed there some evidence was gathered during fieldwork, that community associations involved in public food procurement, are spontaneously seeking to bring this about:

¹¹¹ Sra Clarice, vice president of residents association, of Fojo, Mutuípe, at a meeting held on 22 July 2010.

¹¹² Discussion with Sra Taná, President during meeting with the community association at Pindoba, Mutuípe, on 23 July 2010

"a year from now, we want to handover our Bolsa Familia cards [entitling the holders to monthly payments] in a public ceremony, because we won't need them any more". (Dona Raquel, founder of the Sementes de Amanha, women's association Bairro de Cajazeira, Mutuípe, interviewed on 25 March 2010)

The present government plans to expand *Bolsa Familia* to reach 16.2 million people by 2014, and to link beneficiaries into arrangements for formal employment, job training, diversification of farming and environmental conservation efforts by poor farmers (Hall 2012); it is unclear however how this will come about.

Public Food Procurement: PAA (*Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos*) is a joint federal programme to provide incentives for family farming, improve access to agricultural produce by people at risk of food insecurity, and establish strategic food stocks. It supports a National School Feeding Programme and requires a minimum of 30% of school meal ingredients to be sourced from family farmers, stimulating farmer income generation and employment creation through community associations, particularly for women. Historical experience in Ceará State has demonstrated the capacity of public procurement, not confined to the food sector, to generate employment and stimulate inclusive economic development (Tendler 1996). The programme has potential to achieve more systematic local enterprise development but expansion is reliant upon civil society and local government, which will prove to be challenging given that some municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley have yet to implement PAA projects.

Territorial Development: As discussed in Chapter Three, territorial development approaches emerged in Brazil in the late 1990s and have been influential in academic research, policy and development practice (Abramovay 2003, Favareto 2007, Veiga 2004). Brazil has pursued a range of initiatives which foster greater social engagement sector coordination and are territorial in the sense of being place centred, albeit originating in different branches of government and operating at various scales including region-wide, municipal, inter-municipal and location specific (Favareto 2009). The approach introduced by a new Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) in MDA in 2004. It was designed to develop civil society control over economic development and infrastructure projects and to build coherence amongst agrarian development and other policy interventions directed towards the rural poor and small-scale farmers in different territorial settings and to deepen civil society engagement in development planning and management, in partnership with rural social movements and

other actors. Local actors' engagement in the territorial development approach adopted by MDA and the Bahia State Government in the Jiquiriçá Valley are discussed in Chapter 6, and the results of the application of these policies are assessed in Chapter 7.

Regional economic development policy, led by the Bahia State Government has traditionally taken a top-down approach, influenced by thinking in New Economic Geography, emphasising private sector agglomeration in urban industrial and commercial development poles supported by major infrastructural investment (Porto 2006). Bahia's Secretariat for Urban Development adopts a city-regional approach to territorial planning, not aligned with rural policy or with MDA's and the State Planning Secretariat's focus on *Territórios de Identidade*. Without a major city, the Jiquiriçá valley has not benefited directly. Investment in the regional centre of Santo Antonio de Jesus has improved accessibility of specialised health care, higher education, industrial goods and administrative services, but also inhibited the growth potential of local towns such as Mutuípe. Small-scale spill-over investments in industrial and infrastructure development have resulted from lobbying by local actors but not from economic development policy.

Table 5.9, overleaf, summarises the principal areas of public policy identified by local actors interviewed during the first stage of field research to have had important impacts on rural development in the Jiquiriçá valley. The programmes cited as important most frequently were public sector food acquisition (PAA) and PRONAF, the national family farmers' credit programme, both of which made cash resources directly available to farmers and were relatively recent. Rural pensions, and *Bolsa Familia* were also important in providing people with income sources although without direct implications for increasing agricultural productivity and income. Informants also considered the introduction of environmental legislation to be important in helping to conserve resources and protect the environment, while also constraining farming practice. Other historical developments mentioned as having impacted on the valley were the role of CEPLAC in promoting cocoa farming, the coffee eradication campaigns the introduction from the late 1990s and early 2000s of programmes providing small scale productive and social infrastructure in selected rural communities by the then conservative PFL (Partido Federal Liberal) Bahia state government led by Paulo Souto, and the development and eventual closure of the Jiquiriçá Valley railway. More recent state policies introduced by the Workers Party government after 2007 mentioned were territorial representation in the multi annual state budget planning process (*PPA*

Participativa) and other state government programmes focussed territorially on the valley, and legislation permitting municipalities to form consortia recognised as public bodies and thus eligible to access state and federal government funding.

Table 5.9 Actors’ views on key policy interventions that have impacted on territorial development in the valley (31 respondents in semi-structured interview during the first stage of field research)

Policies considered to have had significant impact	Frequency of responses	Origin of intervention
PAA – Municipal and public sector local food purchase from family farm sector	8	Federal policy from 2003 onwards, pioneered by some municipalities (Mutuípe, Amargosa). Promoted by civil society and more widely developed mid – late 2000s
PRONAF– Small farmer credit programme	8	Federal since 2008, expanded 2003
Rural pensions	5	Federal – since 1990
State & Federal Environment laws	5	Federal and State
Arrival of CEPLAC	4	Federal – since 1967
Bolsa Familia – Family welfare grants	4	Federal since 2003
Coffee Eradication	3	Federal – historical and continuing
Development and later collapse of valley Railway	2	Federal – historical
Bahia PFL (Paulo Souto) government (programmes,	2	State Government since 1997
Representation of the Jiquiriçá valley in prioritising state budgets (PPA) and related state government territorial interventions	1	State Government since 2007
State Law enabling public consortia	1	State government, from 2010

Informants’ views on the effectiveness of government policy in stimulating or assisting territorial development processes at a cross- municipal level, including territorially focussed policies, are presented and discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, including results of the interviews and small scale surveys carried out in the second stage of field research.

5.8 Municipal economies and growth of the trade and services sector

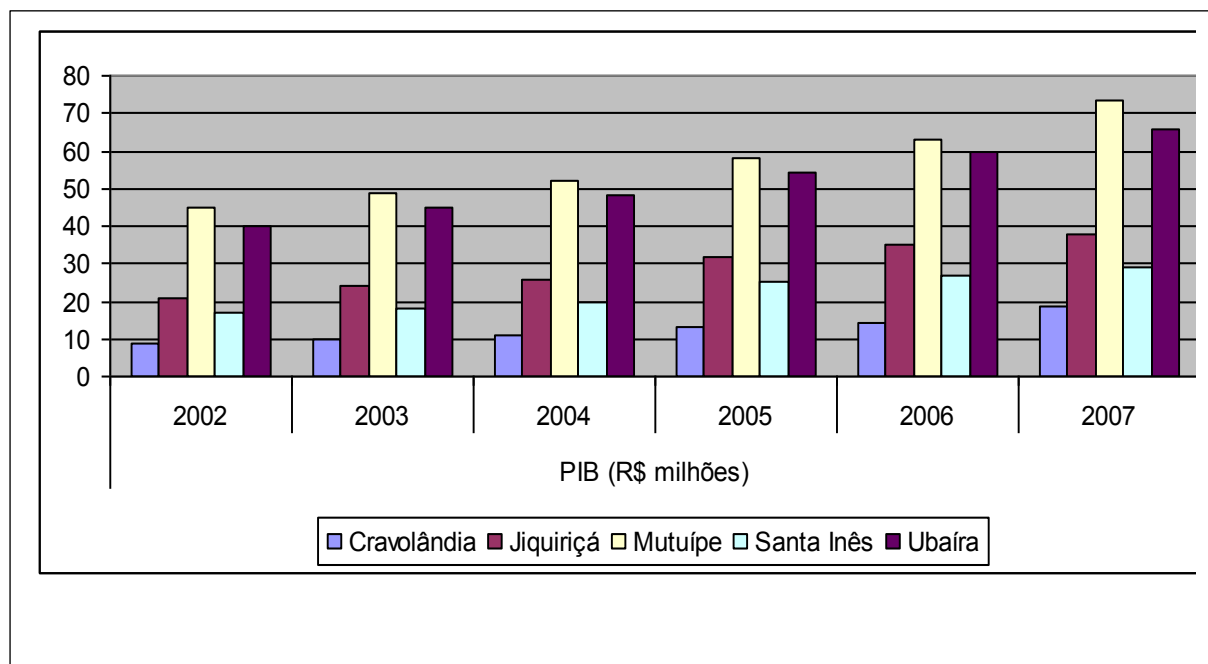
Development of trade in the valley has been based first and foremost on its agricultural markets but the trade sector's expansion and continuation in recent years is also related to the growth of public investment and spending by Federal and State government. This section presents an overall discussion of the growth of the trade and services, the role played by public policy, and the importance of this for the local economies in the case study area, based on available secondary data. This is followed, in 5.8.1 by presentation and discussion of the findings of the informal survey of traders conducted in the second stage of field research, including an evident synergy between agricultural and trade development in the forest zone.

The growth of trade in the valley has been dependent historically on the development of publically funded transport infrastructure. Public support for the Jiquiriçá valley railway was withdrawn following flood damage in 1966, leaving the territory comparatively isolated. However the construction of major national highways (BR101 and BR116) crossing the valley and subsequent improvement of secondary roads improved marketing of agricultural produce and contributed to the growth of the valley's larger towns as intermediate trade centres linked to the larger regional cities of Jequié to the south and Santo Antonio de Jesus to the northeast.

Following the decline of coffee and cattle, the focus of trade shifted from formerly important centres such as Santa Ines and Ubaíra, to areas dominated by more diversified family farming, which has proved more adaptable to evolving markets. Since the mid-1990s Mutuípe as the centre for cocoa production and trade in the valley has grown rapidly as a local centre for agricultural trade, retailing, and commercial and public services (dos Santos 2002). High cocoa prices led to increased circulation of money and expanded consumer demand, also enabling cocoa farmers large and small to invest in trade, vehicles and home improvements. This also stimulated location of retail chains selling furniture, motorbikes and electrical and electronic goods in Mutuípe, with associated modest growth in employment. Larger farmers invested in additional farm land and in the cocoa trade which generated capital for investment in urban business. Cocoa traders drove a minor construction boom during the 1990s, and some invested in the construction trade.

Municipal economies as a whole have grown steadily in recent decades, all in proportion to their overall size and following a consistent pattern. As shown below in Figure 5.7, for the five municipalities selected for closer investigation municipal domestic products have all grown, although at different rates, which are broadly proportional to the size of municipal populations and levels of productivity. Economic activity grew most in Mutuípe the municipality with highest number of small family farmers and the centre of the cocoa trade in the forest zone. This was followed closely by Ubaíra, a larger municipality but with a lower density of farmers and lower levels of production of cocoa and other valuable cash crops. Santa Inês, straddling the valley's transitional and semi- arid zones, and Cravolândia, a small municipality excised from Santa Inês in the 1960s both have relatively few farmers and lower overall farm productivity, and have smaller economies and have grown less rapidly.

Fig. 5.7 Changes in Gross Municipal Domestic Product for five municipalities in the Jiquiriçá Valley 2002 – 2007. Figures in millions of Brazil Reais (Source: Bahia State Government municipal data provided by SEI; chart originally compiled by researchers from GeografAR research centre, Geosciences Faculty, UFBA)

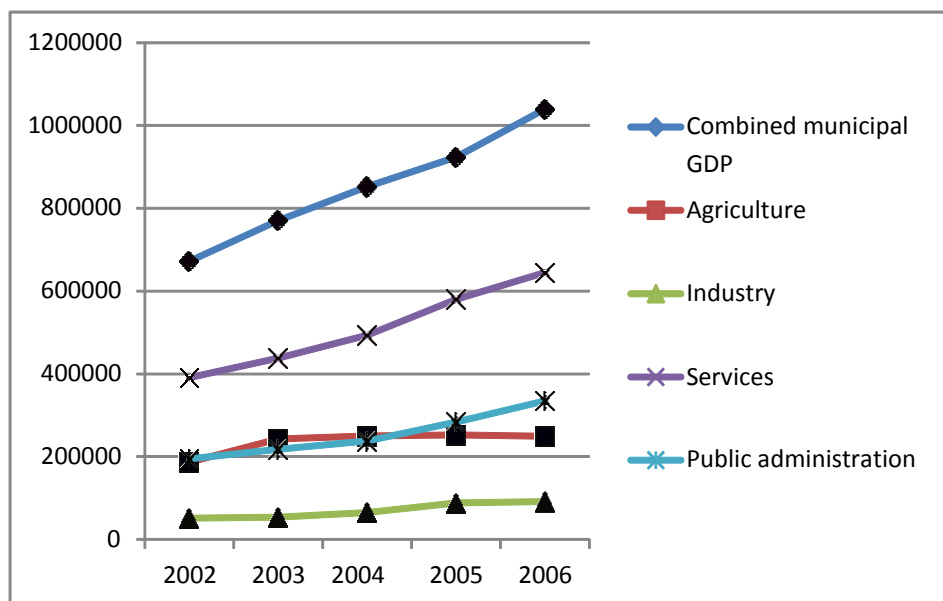


The relative prosperity in the valley's cocoa producing areas has engendered emergence of a new rural - urban middle class, underpinned by the development and adaptability of family farming, and specifically the consolidation of commercially oriented small- medium sized farms by cocoa producers, and their engagement in trade and business. A similar but distinct,

virtuous development trajectory has emerged in Jaguaquara, the centre of horticultural production and trade to the south of the middle Jiquiriçá valley. By contrast commerce had stagnated in Santa Ines, a municipality with low levels of farm production and employment following the decline of coffee production and closure of the railway in the 1960s. Here traders confirmed that continuing small-scale retail trade relies almost entirely on public sector salaries and on federal income transfers to the poor.

Figure 5.8, below, shows that the service sector is the largest economic sector in the valley as a whole, and in each municipality. In addition, public administration contributed approximately 50% of the service sector's total value in the valley during the 2002- 2006 period, exceeding the contribution of agriculture, which following growth in the 2002-03 period did not then grow significantly up to 2006 for the Jiquiriçá valley considered as a whole.

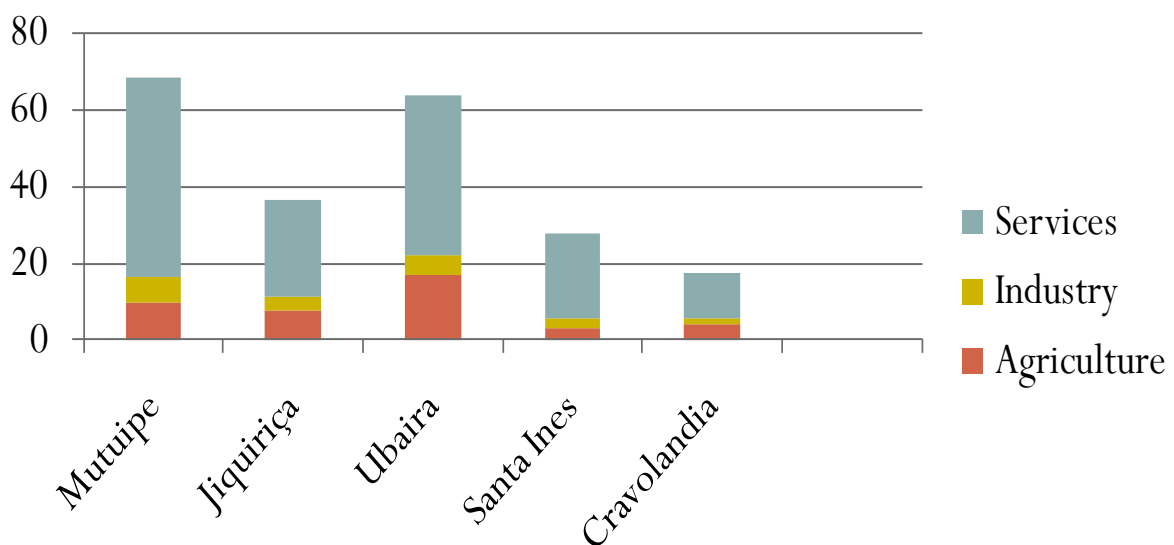
Fig.5.8 Growth in total and sector GDP and in public administration for the combined Municipalities in the Jiquiriçá Valley, 2002 – 2006. Figures in R\$1,000 (Source: National Federation of Municipalities; chart compiled by the author)



Note: In this graphic the uppermost line (in dark blue) represents total value of combined municipal GDPs, being the sum of the contributions made by agriculture, services and industry (shown by the red, purple and green lines respectively). The turquoise line shows the contribution to combined municipal GDPs of public administration, considered part of the service sector in Brazil.

Public policy and democratic development since the end of dictatorship, including the introduction of broader social rights by the 1988 Constitution programmes for poverty reduction, and decentralization with growing resource transfers from central to local government, and increasing social income transfers, has been a powerful driver in the emergence and growth of urban, service-based local economies. The combination of social income transfers and Federal financial transfers to municipalities involving the gradual strengthening of municipal public administration and the expansion of public employment, particularly in municipally managed health and education services, has injected considerable resources into local economies. This has increased the purchasing power of the poor, helped to stimulate and maintain limited economic growth, despite crises and huge geographical variations in agricultural production and incomes, and contributed to the positive outcomes in terms of growth and poverty reduction recorded in census indicators for most of the municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley. At the same, time these improvements in social inclusion and income distribution tend to mask different underlying economic trends and trajectories in different locations that are dynamic in some cases but in others tend towards stagnation. For the five focus municipalities investigated in the 2nd stage of research, the size of the service sector is greater where agriculture is relatively prosperous, as in Mutuípe, but lower in municipalities without a dynamic smallholder farming sector, as shown in Figure 5.9 below. In these cases the survival of commerce depends almost entirely on payment of public sector salaries, pensions and social welfare support by Federal government.

Fig 5.9 Percentage Sector composition of Municipal GDP for five selected municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley in 2007 (source: IBGE / SEI – Government of Bahia)



For these same five municipalities, the values of federal transfers, and of public employment were estimated relative to Municipal GDP and the contributions of the service sector as a whole in 2007, utilising data from the National Federation of Municipalities and SEPLAN in Bahia. As illustrated in Table 5.10 below, for all five municipalities the service sector makes up approximately 65% – 70 % of municipal GDP, with Federal financial transfers contributing between 22% and 36%. The costs of municipal public sector employment account for approximately one third to one half the value of the service sector in different municipalities.

Table 5.10 Value of service sector, federal financial transfers, public sector employment and social income transfers (*Bolsa Familia*) relative to Municipal GDP, for five selected Municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley figures in RS1,000 (*sources: National Federation of Municipalities; SEPLAN, Sistema de Informação Territorial / IBGE; SINTESE / DATAPREV*)

Municipality	Municipal GDP (2007)	Value of service sector and % of municipal GDP (2007)	Value of Federal transfers and % of municipal GDP (2007)	Public sector employment costs and % of municipal GDP (2007)	Value of pension payments (2009)	<i>Bolsa Familia</i> transfers (2004)
Mutuípe	73,206	52,387 - 71.5%	16,147 - 22%	7,090 - 9.7%	29,057	2,172
Jiquiriçá	37,744	25,238 - 66.9%	12,300 - 32.6%	3,991 - 10.6%	5,214	1,831
Ubaíra	65,898	41,448 - 62.9%	15,860 - 24%	7,869 - 11.9%	19,753	2,584
Santa Inês	29,011	22,017 - 75.6%	9,329 - 32%	3,473 - 12%	12,373	1,457
Cravolândia	18,569	12,196 - 65.7%	6,725 - 36.2%	3,051 - 16.4%	1,293	605

It was not possible to obtain 2007 data for *Bolsa Familia* or for Pension payments, but data for these were obtained for 2004 and 2009 respectively, and are included in the table for illustrative purposes. Comparison of figures in the table reveals the scale and importance of pension payments 60% of which are rural pensions, paid to retired rural workers and small farmers: for the larger municipalities of Ubaíra, Mutuípe and Santa Ines, pension payments in 2009 were equivalent to between 28% and 40% of the 2007 value of municipal GDP, approximately. According to data compiled by UNEB / ITCP (2010), for all 21 municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley they were equivalent to 24.65% of GDP again with reference to 2007 values. Based on the 2004 data for *Bolsa Familia* payments (the latest date for which municipal figures could be obtained) these would have been equivalent to a small but nonetheless significant proportion of GDP of between 3 - 5% in 2007. Given the

discrepancies in dates for this data, in practice the current values and can be assumed to be slightly higher.

5.8.1 Findings of the informal survey of urban traders

The informal survey of urban traders undertaken in the four municipalities (Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Santa Inês) shed light on the development of the trade and services sector in this part of the Jiquiriçá valley¹¹³. The survey aimed to establish whether or not the commercial sector was continuing to expand in each municipality and the main factors driving its development. Specifically, it sought to understand the linkages between the development of the services sector and agriculture, by finding out whether or not business people also owned farm land and whether or not farming had served as a basis for business investments or vice versa. Although the survey was informally constructed, the number and type of business people selected for interview corresponded broadly to the overall size and structure of the retail sector in each municipal town, based on a rapid enumeration. On the following page, Table 5.11 shows the type of trade establishments that responded to the survey, and Table 5.12 shows the strong relationships that urban trade establishments have with agricultural sector to agricultural activities.

Just over 50% of urban business people interviewed reported also operating a farm business, usually in the same municipality. In the vast majority of cases respondents were of rural origin in the Jiquiriçá valley and in almost 70% of cases their families were still engaged in farming, with some level of continuing collaboration, labour sharing or cross-subsidy between the farm and the urban business. In 20% of cases respondents said that their business start-ups had somehow been assisted by farming – either by selling farm plots to invest in trade, or utilising gains from farming to support the business. These included cases of both very small farmers starting small-scale businesses and medium or larger scale farmers using the profits from cocoa sales to invest in trade. In a number of other cases traders reported that their parents had divided land amongst sons and daughters between other family members and having gone into business they no longer had any direct involvement in farming. A few traders had utilised profits from trade to invest in acquiring farm businesses, including acquisition of small cocoa farms and expansion of existing farms. Significantly, traders in cocoa and other agricultural commodities (generally people from more prosperous farming

¹¹³ The tiny Municipality of Cravolândia was excluded from the survey as its commercial activity was confined to two or three small-scale shops which were not open when the Municipality was visited.

Table 5.11 Numbers of trade survey respondents and type of business, by Municipality

MUNICIPALITY	No. of respondents	Size (self-declared)			Sector					
		Small	Medium	Large	Food / general retail	Clothing	Electrical / Auto	Pharmacy	Agri -Trade	Other
Mutuípe	11	8	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	5
Jiquiriçá	11	5	5	1	3	3	1	1	1	2
Ubaíra	8	1	3	4	3	1	1	1	2	-
Santa Inês	5	2	1	*	1	2	-	1	-	1
Total	35	16	11	6	7	8	3	4	5	8

(* size was not stated by two of the businesses in Santa Ines)

Table 5.12 Origins of urban businesses and links with the farming sector for trade survey respondents

MUNICIPALITY	Number of respondents	Number with Farm		First Employment				Farm assisted start up	Main income		
		Own farm	Family farm	Farming	Trade	Both	Paid Work		Trade	Farming	Both trade and farming
Mutuípe	11	6	1	3	4	-	4	2	2	9	
Jiquiriçá	11	6	4	6	2	1	2	2	10		1
Ubaíra	8	4	1	4	2	-	2	3	6	1	1
Santa Inês	5	2	-	1	4	1	-	-	4	-	1
Total	35	18	6	14	12	2	8	7	22	10	3

families) utilised their profits to acquire additional farm land and invest in urban businesses and property. This was also confirmed by independent interviews undertaken with cocoa traders and other larger business people.

Altogether, a wide range of employment trajectories were described, with some business people starting off in farming, family businesses, or as public employees, and going on to develop one or more urban businesses, sometimes combined with farming. In over 60% of cases trade now provided the main family income, although for 30% of respondents farming was the main income source.

The factors that traders thought were important in sustaining local trade are shown in Table 5.13, below. Informants confirmed that agricultural growth, principally in cocoa, has been fundamental to economic development. This was particularly marked in the forest belt municipalities of Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá where family farming has generally thrived, but less so in Ubaíra (which straddles forest and transition zones) and Santa Inês (straddling transitional and semi-arid zones and without a significant smallholder-based economy).

Table 5.13 External factors affecting and sustaining local trade: frequency of factors cited by traders (trade survey plus responses in other interviews conducted with traders)

Municipality	Total no. of respondents	Cocoa	Agriculture generally	Public Employment	Rural Pensions	Bolsa Familia	Rural Roads	Other factors
Mutuípe	14	9	4	2	4	3	-	clients from other local towns - 5
Jiquiriçá	12	3	3	3	1	1	1	
Ubaíra	9	2	-	-	3	3	2	Minimum wage - 2 Shoe factory - 2
St. Ines	7			4	3	3	-	
TOTAL	42	14	7	9	11	10	3	

Traders from towns in the forest belt also reported that since the late 1990s commercial development has slowed due to lower cocoa prices and reduced output. In these municipalities, as elsewhere, traders described the public injection of resources into local economies through federal transfers to municipalities to create public employment, rural pensions and social income transfers as of fundamental importance to the survival of the trade and retail sectors. Although commercial growth has now resumed in the forest belt following the upturn in cocoa prices in the mid-2000s, traders nevertheless cited public spending and social programmes as a significant factor of similar importance to agriculture in sustaining

local trade. In all municipalities traders described a monthly business cycle in which sales were concentrated at the beginning of each month following the payment of municipal salaries, rural pensions and welfare payments. In Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra, the opening of rural roads was also considered to be important in stimulating agricultural markets and demand for traded goods from rural people.

The traders survey also revealed a series of differences in development of the trade and services sectors amongst the different municipalities. These appear to be linked to the history and structure of their rural farm economies and the synergies which had or had not been established with sustainable commercial growth. The principle features, trends and constraints in the development of trade in each of the four municipalities covered by the survey are summarised in table 5.14 (overleaf).

Mutuípe emerged clearly as the most dynamic commercial centre in the municipalities assessed, with the largest and most diversified set of urban businesses, owing to its role as a centre of cocoa production, from which the large proportion of rural people had been able to benefit. The range of shops and services available reflects a general diversification of trade less visible in other Municipalities, apparently related to the greater purchasing power amongst large numbers of small-scale farmers and greater level of entry of local farmers into trade than in other municipalities, as well as its location as the most central market for cocoa in the forest region of the valley, with the greatest concentration of cocoa traders. Mutuípe also experienced a construction boom in the late 1990s, fuelled largely by investment of profits from cocoa.

At the other extreme, trade in Santa Ines has declined drastically since the mid- 20th century, following the collapse of coffee, the decline of semi- arid crops and the closure of the railway in the 1960s. Santa Ines experienced large-scale exodus from rural areas into the town and today suffers high unemployment. Today there are few commercial outlets relative to population size and as compared to neighbouring municipalities. Although some shops sell rural produce to local residents, residual trade is largely reliant on public sector employees, public sector purchasing and payment of rural pensions and welfare benefits.

Table 5.14 General characteristics, trends and constraints in local trade development for four Municipalities investigated in the Jiquiriçá Valley

MUNICIPALITY	General Features	Trends	Constraints
Mutuípe	<p>Large expansion of small and large businesses since late 1990s linked to peak in cocoa prices, production and trade.</p> <p>Cocoa trade is central to the economy; increasing integration of rural and urban economies</p> <p>Significant diversification by larger farmers and businesses – investment in construction</p> <p>Central location amongst neighbouring towns</p>	<p>Affected by variations in cocoa prices and production</p> <p>Many small businesses started by small farmers –now struggling after end of cocoa boom</p> <p>Assisted by government pensions and welfare programmes, public employment and municipal programmes e.g. roads, rural development</p>	<p>Competition with Santo Antonio de Jesus to the east in Recôncavo, and incoming large regional retail chains</p> <p>Lack of industrial development</p>
Jiquiriçá	<p>expansion of small businesses since late 1990s linked to cocoa production and trade</p> <p>Businesses from Mutuípe have opened subsidiaries</p>	<p>Affected by variations in cocoa prices and production</p> <p>Many small businesses started by small farmers –now struggling after end of cocoa boom</p> <p>Assisted by government pensions and welfare programmes, and public employment</p>	<p>lack of investment in rural roads</p> <p>Competition from Mutuípe; incoming subsidiaries of Mutuípe businesses and larger regional retail chains</p> <p>Lack of industrial development</p>
Ubaíra	<p>Established larger businesses, linked to former or current land owning families</p> <p>Weak interaction rural / urban economy</p>	<p>Trade stable with some decline due to decline of agriculture (notably coffee) in much of the municipality. Also affected by variations in cocoa prices and output</p> <p>Government programmes assist purchasing power; Establishment of the Del Ponte shoe factory (overspill from St. Antonio de Jesus, promoted by the municipality) has created employment</p>	<p>Lower numbers of prosperous small farmers than other municipalities.</p> <p>Small businesses outcompeted by Mutuípe</p> <p>Large municipality in which other towns are more accessible for people in its more peripheral rural areas – lack of investment in rural roads</p>
Santa Ines	<p>Overall stagnation due to collapse of coffee and problems facing agriculture generally in Santa Ines and the surrounding region; no rural economy as such</p>	<p>Expansion due to population influx from rural areas</p> <p>Trade stable at a low level due to public employment, pension and welfare payments</p>	<p>High unemployment, Lack of productive revenue</p> <p>Low purchasing power</p> <p>High out-migration</p> <p>Competition with Jaguaquara, Jequié</p>

The retail sector in Jiquiriçá, a secondary centre for the cocoa trade in the valley has also undergone relatively dynamic recent growth, but is significantly smaller than in Mutuípe (as shown in Fig. 5.9), and historically trade has been less developed than in Ubaíra and Mutuípe (which was the main trading centre of Jiquiriçá municipality prior to its emancipation). In

Jiquiriçá municipality, however, a number of businesses were found to be subsidiaries of or associated with parent businesses in Mutuípe, in which family members from successful businesses in Mutuípe had branched out to meet growing resulting from the prosperity of small-scale farming around the town of Jiquiriçá.

Although Ubaíra was formerly the administrative and commercial centre for the whole valley, trade has now declined. Despite the significant size of its services sector (see Fig. 5.9) this remains smaller than in Mutuípe, whereas the municipality itself and its population are much larger. The town had an observably lower density of businesses and shops as compared with Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá, and many of these were often closed. There appears to be a significantly less prosperous small-scale farming based economy in Ubaíra, as a result of a more prominent medium-to- large-scale farming sector, the collapse of coffee markets, and absence of cocoa from a large part of the municipality. Although as a municipality Ubaíra is large, its shape and configuration of settlements and infrastructure is such that for outlying rural communities Mutuípe, Amargosa, Jiquiriçá or other neighbouring municipalities outside of the Jiquiriçá valley provide more accessible commercial centres. Whereas more traders in Ubaíra described their businesses as large, this appeared to reflect their family connections with substantial rural properties and farming businesses. The relative prosperity of larger farming and trading families in Ubaíra, does not appear to have provided a stimulus to trade and the local economy as the prosperity of small-scale farming has done in Mutuípe, because large-scale farmers' profits tend to be consumed by spending and investment elsewhere (e.g. children's education and acquisition of luxury goods and construction materials not available locally). Similar observations would apply to better off farming and trading families in other municipalities, but they are less numerous and less significant for the local economy given relative prosperity of greater numbers of small farmers and traders in Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá.

5.9 Synthesis of findings

This section recapitulates the principal findings from the analysis of the primary and secondary data gathered on agricultural development and discusses how these respond to the research questions posed at the beginning, before summarising the main conclusions.

The analysis of secondary data on changes in agricultural production, land holding and economic development in the valley's different municipalities, together with the empirical

field research in five contiguous municipalities in the east and centre of the valley, show that that distinctive development trajectories have been underway in different sub-regions of the valley, leading, nevertheless, to broadly positive development outcomes in terms of the census indicators for growth, poverty reduction and social inequality.

The valley's performance as an agricultural region has been strongly influenced by its varying natural resource endowment and productive potential, by the development and changes in markets for coffee and cocoa, as well as other products, and by land holding structures. Although agriculture continues to be the principal source of employment in the valley as a whole, market changes have had varying impacts in different parts of the valley according to their suitability for different crops and their land holding structures.

The secondary data on agricultural production together with the rural communities' field survey demonstrate clearly that agriculture has fared significantly better in the higher rainfall forest zone, due to the strength of markets for cocoa, cassava, bananas, and suitability for a wide variety of other cash and subsistence crops. Agriculture is the principal source of income and employment in the forest zone, characterised by the predominance of small-scale farmers, with some medium-scale and a handful of larger producers, all of whom benefited from the cocoa boom of the 1990s. Small-scale farming has proved adaptable to market changes by growing a variety of crops, retaining cocoa as a core source of income, despite low productivity, variable market prices, and dependency on intermediaries in order to access markets. Farm households have also adopted multiple livelihood strategies, including casual labour on neighbours' farms, urban employment, small-scale trade and longer term migration, together with production and small-scale processing of a wide range of fruits and vegetables, and animal products for household and local consumption. Sub-division of family land holdings has enabled farming to continue in successive generations, although land subdivision is now reaching its limits of sustainability, as a result of demographic pressure and steadily diminishing plot sizes. Public policy has also directly assisted the development of small-scale farming, and poverty reduction, protecting poor families from the impacts of volatile cocoa markets, diminishing labour demands and limited land access, through welfare transfers and pension payments to large numbers of retired small farmers and rural workers. Rural communities surveyed viewed the impact of public policies as overwhelmingly positive, citing pension payments as an important income source, in some cases exceeding incomes from farm labour, the traditional supplement to farm incomes. As a result of

successful farming, good integration into regional markets and policy support, rural populations have been retained and in some cases have grown.

Elsewhere, agriculture has faced serious problems, as a result of the collapse of markets and withdrawal of policy support for coffee in the transition zone, and for sisal, castor and cotton in semi-arid areas, combined with severe degradation of pasture land. The farm economy of the transitional zone dominated by large-scale coffee producers has not been able to adapt to and recover from market crises, although some small and medium producers have been able to cope by taking up commercial horticulture and fruit production. Large producers have been more strongly locked in to particular markets, with significant investments in development of pasture or coffee processing plant; they have also been less able to diversify into other crops, due to high costs of wholesale substitution of coffee by passion fruit or cattle by cocoa. Large-scale producers have also been required to comply with minimum wage legislation, health and safety standards and sanitary regulations restricting meat and dairy sales. The failure of large estates under changing market conditions and regulatory policies, has led to high unemployment, out-migration and economic stagnation. Despite stagnation of the rural economy, public spending on federal transfers to municipalities, pensions and welfare payments have provided an essential safety net, assisting poverty reduction and the sustaining local economies. As a result of unequal land distribution, social benefits of continued agriculture are few in semi-arid locations, where small-scale farming is limited or absent.

The economic structure of each municipality follows a similar pattern in which public services and private trade together form the largest economic sector, of slightly greater value than agriculture, which contributes the greatest share of production and employment, and industry is under developed throughout. The services sector is made up of around 60% public services, and business people across the valley agree that public spending in the form of federal transfers to municipalities, welfare and pension payments are extremely important in maintaining local economies. In predominantly semi-arid municipalities, both agriculture and the services sector tend to be smaller, relative to geographical and population size, with high unemployment. In the forest zone, agricultural and commerce have developed in synergy, and Mutuípe has emerged as a prosperous small urban local centre, where farmers large and small have invested the proceeds of cocoa farming in trade and construction. On the other hand, the valley contains no major urban centre and as a result has little or no industrial development, Farmers are dependent on intermediary traders and long distance transport to access major

markets, and residents must travel to regional cities outside the valley to access specialist goods and services.

From the point of view of environmental sustainability, the expansion of agriculture in response to market demands has considerable negative externalities which impact on the valley's natural ecosystems and productive natural resources, due to generally steep slopes and high erosion risk throughout the valley. In particular, cattle production as a large-scale land use has brought about widespread deforestation, soil erosion and degradation of hydrological systems, including siltation of the River Jiquiriçá and its tributaries, as well as loss of water sources. Demographic pressure in more populated parts of the valley, especially where households rely on small plots, has also led to depletion of soil resources, and productivity of major crops such as cocoa and cassava is now increasingly reliant on fertilizer application. As a result farmers and cattle producers are required to make increasing investments in maintaining and restoring land cover in order to maintain productivity, but frequently lack the resources and technical expertise to do so. The expansion of cocoa and of multiple tropical tree crops, including high value crops appears to have reduced the incidence of land clearance and exposure of soil to erosion, and small-scale farmers in the forest belt increasingly practice mixed, partially shaded agroforestry cropping systems which appear to be relatively sustainable.

In summary, although the overall trends in census data for 1990 -2000 suggest declining levels of poverty and income inequality for the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole, trends in these indicators tend to mask more complex and variegated underlying processes. Analysis of data on agricultural performance and economic trends for different municipalities over the last two decades shows that growth is correlated with the presence of family operated farms (as shown in Fig. 5.5), implying a clear linkage between a more equal agrarian structure and greater, more inclusive, growth. Moreover, the extent to which small to medium family farming predominates not only correlates directly with levels of marketed agricultural output for principal crops, but also with the levels of development of the commercial service economy, poverty reduction and retention of rural populations and population growth overall (as shown in Table 5. 3). In the context of sustained demand for cocoa, cassava, bananas and other crops, public policy has tended to favour family farming based economic development in the forest zone while providing a safety net for the local economy in regions dominated by large-scale commercial farming, which has had difficulties in adjusting to market and policy

changes. On the whole, small-scale farming practices also appear to be more environmentally sustainable than those of large-scale land users, because of their reliance on multi-cropping systems with a strong tree crop components, and limited requirements for land clearance for cattle.

5.9.1 Trends in development outcomes from 1991 to 2000

The clustering of positive changes in indicators for average growth in incomes, poverty and income inequality in the valley which led to its selection as a case study area show that during the period 1991 – 2000 growth was combined with poverty reduction in a majority of 16 municipalities in the valley. In eleven of these, income inequality was also reduced. Of these municipalities which showed win-win-win outcomes, five of them fall broadly into the forest belt, three are in the transitional zone, and three are in the semi-arid region. The remaining five municipalities had more mixed outcomes, with three failing to increase average incomes, but reducing poverty and inequality; one (Jaguaquara) case showing overall income growth but increasing poverty and inequality; and one other (Maracas) showing no improvement in any of the three indicators. These variations require some commentary in relation to the research findings, although not all the municipalities were investigated empirically.

The concentration of five contiguous municipalities showing positive “win-win-win” outcomes in the forest belt for the 1991 -2000 period can be explained by the prosperity of small-scale farming, combined with the positive impacts of public policies. The remaining six municipalities which also showed “win-win-win” outcomes all have more unequal land holding structures, and registered no significant improvements in agricultural production during the period and were reliant on federal financial transfers for economic growth; these combined with pension payments also contributed to poverty reduction. The decreasing income inequality recorded in these less productive municipalities areas can also be attributed to the impact of public investment, pensions and welfare, combined with an overall trend of economic stagnation, as a result of which many large landowners and business people also face declining incomes and profit margins, or have moved away.

In five municipalities average incomes grew, while poverty reduced, but income inequality did not. Interestingly, these included Mutuípe the centre of cocoa production in the valley’s forest zone, where small farmers made considerable gains, but since better-off farmers, cocoa

traders and business people concentrated in the town also prospered, this will have increased inequality. In the other four municipalities that shared this trend, land-ownership was more unequal, and in three of these, horticultural production expanded, principally involving better off, medium sized producers. In Jaguaquara, the municipality with the greatest growth in vegetable and fruit production, but with relatively low participation of small-scale farmers, the economy grew overall but neither poverty nor inequality reduced. Three municipalities reduced poverty and inequality as a result of federal assistance, but average incomes failed to grow; two of these were in the semi-arid region, but one, Laje, is in the forest belt but with no significant cocoa production and unable to prosper from it. In the largest semi-arid municipality, Maracas, all three indicators declined, as a result of the collapse of formerly prosperous markets for castor, and for coffee, formerly produced in its better water upland areas. This led to a surge in unemployment and a rise in poverty for which public income transfers had failed to compensate by the end of the decade.

5.9.2 Trends in development outcomes from 2000 to 2010

Disaggregated municipal data derived from the 2010 IBGE census (IPEA 2013) was only released towards the end of the research and thus was not available to inform fieldwork and the analysis of fieldwork findings. The data reveals the continuing trends in growth of average incomes, poverty reduction and improvements in inequality, as well as some significant differences in the patterns identified in the 1991 – 2000 data. Significantly, during the 2000 – 2010 decade average incomes grew and poverty was reduced in all of the Jiquiriçá Valley's municipalities, although income inequality decreased in some and increased in others, without showing any clear overall pattern. Table 5.15, overleaf, shows the 2010 figures and changes registered since 2000 for the three census indicators used for growth, poverty levels and inequality used to identify the valley as a research site. The positive trends observed in the Jiquiriçá Valley reflect those recorded across Brazil as a whole for the decade following 2000, in which incomes grew and poverty was reduced across the whole country and inequality fell in 80% of Brazilian municipalities, changes largely attributable to public policies for income redistribution (IPEA 2013).

Table 5.15 Development outcomes for the Jiquiriçá Valley in 2010, and changes registered since 2000

(Source: IBGE 2010 census data published by IPEA (2013) *Human Development Atlas for Brazil 2013*, at: <http://atlasbrasil.org.br/2013/home/>)

Municipality	Population	% of extremely poor	% of poor	reduction in poverty since 2000	Income per capita	Increase in average income*	Gini index - income	change in Gini - income	win-win-win outcomes ?
Amargosa	34351	14.55	33.42	18.65%	369.84	2	0.56	0.01	WWL
Brejões	14282	20.13	39.47	16.57%	261.14	1	0.5	0.04	WWL
Cravolândia	5041	20.98	42.52	27.92%	259.87	3	0.53	-0.02	WWW
Elísio Medrado	7947	13.89	35.13	20.30%	315.04	2	0.5	-0.02	WWW
Irajuba	7002	22.78	44.78	23.02%	236.16	3	0.52	0	WWO
Iramaia	11990	21.5	44.26	24.90%	234.91	3	0.5	0.02	WWL
Itaquara	7678	25.22	51.57	14.15%	229.04	2	0.55	0.08	WWL
Itiruçu	12693	12.99	33.21	34.99%	309.83	2	0.5	-0.11	WWW
Jaguaquara	51011	12.81	32.3	30%	307.08	1	0.5	-0.03	WWW
Jiquiriçá	14118	18.18	42.59	21.49%	257.95	1	0.5	0.01	WWL
L.Coutinho	3901	14.73	38.48	31.48%	288.05	2	0.51	0	WWO
Laje	22201	22.22	43.59	17.24%	241.63	0	0.51	-0.03	WWW
L. do Tabocal	8305	14.58	45.4	21.04%	237.39	1	0.46	0.08	WWL
Maracás	24613	17.5	39.19	31.15%	290.11	4	0.51	0.02	WWL
Milagres	10306	18.25	33.35	25.54%	313.88	2	0.51	-0.02	WWW
Mutuípe	21449	19.86	40.5	16.47%	374.8	1	0.63	-0.07	WWW
Nova Itarana	7435	34.83	55.04	18.78%	188.86	1	0.55	-0.01	WWW
Planaltino	8822	21.89	42.02	23.25%	282.33	4	0.56	0.07	WWL
Santa Inês	10363	15.08	36.1	23.61%	280.25	1	0.48	-0.03	WWW
S.Miguel d Matas	10414	20.26	43.78	10.22%	274.08	1	0.51	0.02	WWL
Ubaíra	19750	24.69	43.77	20.03%	296.48	3	0.59	0.08	WWL

* Note: Income growth is divided into four quartiles in the IPEA IDH 2013 data, indicated as follows in column eight: 1) 4 - 5.8%; 2) 5.8 - 7.5%; 3) 7.5 - 9.8 % and 4) 9.4 - 29.6%.

Moreover, decreasing inequality was not in general accompanied by impoverishment of the rich, but took place because the incomes of the poorest grew more rapidly than those of the better off. (*Estado de Sao Paulo*, 6 August 2013¹¹⁴). This last effect of widespread reductions in inequality, alongside the greatest increases in average income *per capita*, was most marked in the South of Brazil however, and the Jiquiriçá Valley, in common with much of the Northeast, experienced smaller increases in incomes and less significant reductions in inequality, in a smaller proportion of municipalities.

During the 2000- 2010 period, average per capita incomes grew in all the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley. According to the IPEA data, the highest levels of income growth (above 7.5%) were registered in some of the transitional zone municipalities (Itiruçu, Cravolândia, Lafayette Coutinho), whereas in the forest belt, and also in Jaguaquara, which experienced good overall growth in the previous decade, incomes grew slowly (below 0.58% according to the IPEA data). This may be attributable to the fact that the greatest growth in farm incomes from cocoa occurred in the previous decade; although cocoa prices are now recovering, they crashed in early 2000s, and have not yet reached pre-1998 levels. A possible factor in Jaguaquara is that the tomato crop, a major source of farm incomes, had declined in both volume and value during the decade (see Table 5.1 at the beginning of this chapter).

In addition, as Table 5.14 shows, poverty was reduced in all the Jiquiriçá valley municipalities. The reductions which occurred ranged from 10 – 35% and in most cases were around 25%, as compared with the previous decade which registered reductions of 5 – 19%, in most cases around 10%, as well as increases in poverty of between 1 and 17% in some municipalities. Some of the most productive municipalities in the forest zone (Amargosa, Laje, Mutuípe, Sao Miguel das Matas and Ubaíra) that had already achieved reductions in poverty in the previous decade, continued to reduce poverty at similar but slightly higher levels, of 10 – 17%. However, a group of largely transitional zone municipalities (Lafayette Coutinho, Jaguaquara, Itiruçu, and Cravolândia 28%) made the greatest progress, reducing poverty by between 28 and 36%. as did Maracas in the semi-arid zone, where poverty had previously increased. Other municipalities falling largely into the semi-arid zone (Santa Inês, Planaltino, Iramaia, and Milagres) registered reductions in poverty between 20 and 30% in

¹¹⁴ <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/cidades.desigualdade-de-renda-cai-em-80-dos-municipios-do-brasil-em-uma-decada,1060330,0.htm> accessed on 13 August 2013.

2000 -2010. These changes can largely be attributed to the effects of *Bolsa Familia* payments and of other public policies that expanded greatly since 2003 to assist income generation by the poor, also contributing to overall income growth. These appear to have had a greater impact all round in this decade than have improvements in agricultural production and market access. Potentially, in the transitional municipalities which made greatest progress, which were not investigated, increased participation in fruit and vegetable markets and increases in output and value of production (see Table 5.1) combined with social income transfers to achieve the reductions in poverty recorded. Whereas the more productive forest belt municipalities had reduced poverty prior to 2000 through a combination of agricultural growth and emerging federal policies for income transfers, the gains from widespread smallholder adoption of cocoa and high cocoa prices had largely been realized by the early 2000's and could not be repeated in the decade up to 2010.

As regards inequality, this reduced in nine municipalities, and remained the same in two others from 2000 to 2010, but constant but increased in ten others. The win-win-win municipalities of Cravolândia, Elisio Medrado, Itiruçu, Jaguaquara, Laje, Milagres, Mutuípe, Nova Itarana and Santa Inês are spread throughout the different ecological zones. Rather than sharing common dynamics, they appear to fall into different clusters: those in the forest belt and in the transitional zone benefiting from continued agricultural growth and expansion of federal income transfers to the municipalities themselves and to the poor, and those in the semi-arid region where public policies and income transfers have had the greatest impact, but agriculture has contributed little. An additional contributing factor in reducing inequalities, and possibly also to reductions in poverty and increases in average incomes levels, is likely to be the continuing out-migration of the poor from municipalities in the semi- arid and transitional zones. Iramaia, Maracás, Milagres, in the semi-arid regions, and Brejões, suffering continuing decline in its coffee-based economy, all experienced substantial losses of population of 1,000 and the populations of Itaquara, Itiruçu and Lafayette Coutinho Santa Ines were all reduced by several hundred also increasing their urban populations over the decade¹¹⁵. In contrast, Mutuípe, Laje, and Jaguaquara all gained in both total and rural

¹¹⁵ The IPEA 2013 Human Development Atlas also includes municipal data for urban and rural populations, not shown in Table 5.14. These were compared with the IBGE Census figures from 2000 to review the changes in overall population and percentage changes in rural populations, which increased in some cases but in others showed sharp declines. The overall changes in population for each municipality are shown in Table 3.2 in Chapter Three.

populations over the decade, suggesting continuing expansion of the scope to generate a reasonable agricultural livelihood.

According to the IPEA 2013 figures, levels of inequality increased in Maracás, Ubaíra, Planaltino and Iramaia, which were amongst the municipalities which experienced higher rates of income growth. Inequality also increased in Amargosa, Brejões, Itaquara, Jiquiriçá and São Miguel das Matas where incomes grew to a more limited extent, reflecting appropriation of a greater share of income by the better off. Although Cravolândia performed well in relation to all three indicators, its overall population and level of income growth were low.

Mutuípe, the municipality with the highest average per capita income, recorded the highest Gini index for income in 2010, indicating the highest level of income inequality in the valley, although inequality actually reduced in the 2000 to 2010 decade, having increased from 1991 to 2000. According to the IPEA (2013) figures, 52% of municipal income in 2010 was appropriated by the richest 10%, who together acquired 29 times the incomes of the poorest 40%¹¹⁶. This suggests an established pattern more marked than in other municipalities whereby the majority are continuing to gain from agricultural development and assistance by public policies, the rich, in this case larger cocoa producers and traders, or business people and professionals with agricultural investments, continue to get richer, despite a slight overall reduction in income inequality.

In responding to the research question on the factors that are driving socially inclusive growth in the valley, the research has shown that market and policy processes have combined with the valley's differentiated bio-physical and socio-institutional geography to produce development trajectories which are relatively dynamic in some locations but elsewhere tend towards stagnation. The fieldwork findings together with analysis of the development of agricultural production and the overall development trends for the municipalities in different parts of the Jiquiriçá valley confirm the initial impression discussed in Chapter Three, that the valley, in fact, comprises a series of relatively distinct economic sub-regions. These broadly coincide with the valley's natural regions, but the structure of land holding, farmer innovation

¹¹⁶ IPEA (2013) also includes data on the proportion of income accruing to different wealth and poverty strata and the ratios between them; again these data are not shown in Table 5.14

and public action have also mediated the effects of federal policies and regional market development to affect the development trajectories of certain areas.

Figure 5.10 (overleaf) indicates a feasible classification of these sub-regions according to their different trajectories based the overall research findings. In particular, although these areas were not investigated in any depth during fieldwork, it appears that the transitional regions can presently be differentiated into three types of areas: first a belt dominated by large-scale land holdings which have had difficulties recovering from the collapse of coffee; second, the area centred on Jaguaquara which has greater numbers of small and medium-scale farmers and where commercial horticulture has come to substitute coffee; and, third, a more sparsely populated area to the south west where residual commercial coffee production remains viable.

Investment by Italian immigrant farmers in irrigated horticulture, government provision of credit and technical assistance, development of BR116 main road, and establishment of a wholesale market centre in the town of Jaguaquara have enabled some economic renewal in surrounding areas. In some semi-arid municipalities, such as Maracás and Iramaia agrarian development policies for provision of small-scale credit, technical assistance and land reform were combined with assistance from municipal government to enable some similar diversification amongst small and medium-scale farmers into dairy farming, honey production, and irrigated floriculture and horticulture, albeit in a context of broader economic decline. In much of the semi-arid region however production remains stagnant and dominated by extensive, low productivity cattle farming on large estates. In these areas populations are low and small, conservative municipalities have not sought innovation.

The next section seeks to explain the dynamic processes that have occurred in different parts of the Jiquiriçá Valley with reference to some of the key concepts from economic geography and economic sociology introduced in Chapter Two.

Fig. 5.10 Economic sub-regions of the Jiquiriçá Valley
 (Source: Author's elaboration based on research findings; base map from SEI, 2007)

Western semi-arid region

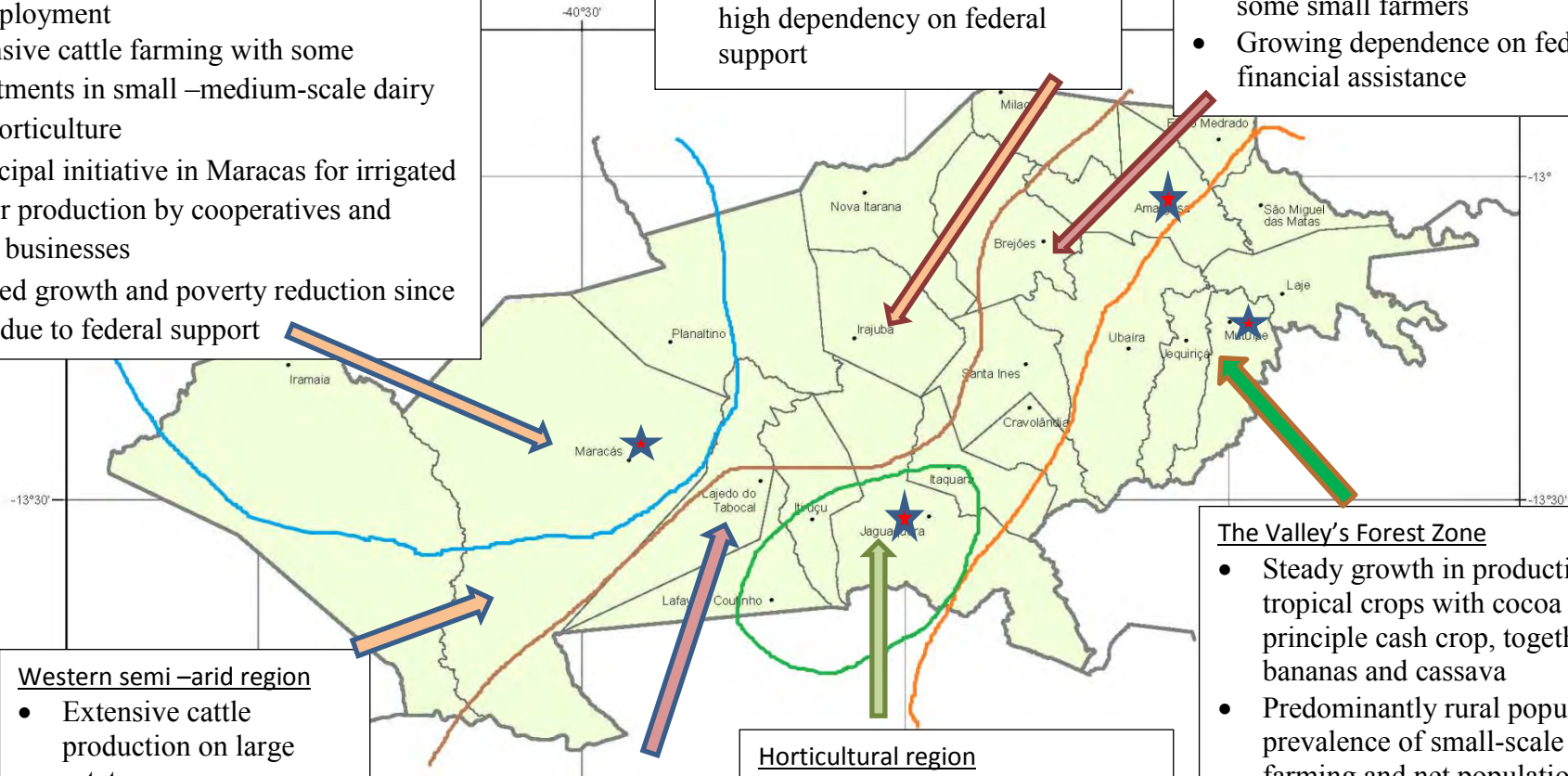
- Hit badly by collapse of market for castor and other semi-arid crops, steep declines in rural and overall population, and high unemployment
- Extensive cattle farming with some investments in small –medium-scale dairy and horticulture
- Municipal initiative in Maracás for irrigated flower production by cooperatives and small businesses
- Limited growth and poverty reduction since 2000 due to federal support

Northern semi-arid belt

- Dominated by large-scale land-ownership
- Cattle production and some subsistence farming; some land reform
- Economically stagnant with high dependency on federal support

Transitional Region

- hit badly by collapse of coffee production
- High unemployment and declines in rural population Continuing production of cattle, bananas, cassava, and mixed crops mainly by medium-large and some small farmers
- Growing dependence on federal financial assistance



Western semi –arid region

- Extensive cattle production on large estates
- Isolated and economically stagnant area with low population density

Southern transitional zone

- Residual coffee production, with cattle, some horticulture and mixed cropping
- Mainly larger, medium sized farms

Horticultural region

- Centred on Jaguaquara, a major regional market centre.
- Production dominated by medium-scale commercial farmers using irrigation
- Non-inclusive growth dynamic in 1990s, now reducing poverty due to federal support

The Valley's Forest Zone

- Steady growth in production of multiple tropical crops with cocoa as the principle cash crop, together with bananas and cassava
- Predominantly rural population with prevalence of small-scale family farming and net population growth
- Benefits from integration into dynamic markets combined with public policy support
- Mutuípe is a growing regional market centre, and base of FETRAF-affiliated rural movement, active throughout the area

★ = Regional market centres

5.9.3 The factors driving inclusive dynamics

Agricultural development in the Jiquiriçá valley has to a large extent followed the logic of economic geography, driven primarily by “hard” factors including natural resource productivity, locational factors, market demands, and infrastructure. Different crop production enterprises have co-located according to suitability of conditions and access to markets, and a wide variety of productive niches exploited in response to market demands. Farming has also been subject to historical changes in global market cycles for major crops, and to centralised, external policy decisions driven by concerns to concentrate state support for cash crop development on favourable regions, so as to preserve Brazil’s position in international markets. The rural communities’ survey also revealed the effects of economic geography in the municipalities investigated, where the differences in the development processes and levels of wealth and income observed between locations can in large part be explained by variations in accessibility and proximity to municipal centres, reflecting access to markets and other opportunities and services.

Natural resource productivity and linkages to dynamic markets have clearly been the foundation of prosperity and major sources of employment in the valley and these two factors also provide some explanation of how and why different parts of the valley have developed differently according to market changes and their suitability for different crops. Moreover the volatility of cocoa prices and variability in price and outputs for horticultural crops has meant that different localities have benefited from agricultural markets at different times.

A third key factor that explains why broad-based agricultural prosperity and commercial development have been greater in the valley’s forest belt, yet have stagnated in other formerly prosperous locations, is the variation in structures of land holding, which have given rise to different social and productive relations in different places. In the forest belt where large numbers of small-scale farmers are present they have been able to take advantage of developing markets for multiple crops, in particular the boom in cocoa in the late 1990s. In addition to own production, small farmers have also been able to rely on relations of reciprocal exchange within and between farm households and with neighbouring larger farms, though informal practices of family labour sharing and collaboration, share cropping, land rentals and casual labour on neighbour’s farms. Larger farmers in the forest zone have

also emerged as successful traders and buyers of crops on whom smaller farmers have been able to rely to gain access to fertilizer, working credit and transport to access markets.

A fourth factor driving economic and social development in the valley has been public policy, notably the common Federal policy framework of public investment, support to family farming, decentralised municipal administration, and income transfers for the poor. As a result of public spending and investment on the economy, which expanded significantly since 2003, rural people in nearly all locations were now better connected with government services.

Other factors have also intervened, however, in the distributional outcomes of agricultural growth. Although the effects of public policy have been positive across the valley as a whole, they have also been mediated by the different social and agrarian structures that have arisen. The municipalities with the greatest concentrations of small farmers have benefited most from public spending on improved rural roads, basic infrastructure and agricultural support, while at the same time income transfers have provided additional flexibility for poor households. Small farmers in the forest belt attributed improving social and economic conditions largely to state intervention. Elsewhere, local economies and populations have become substantially dependent on federal transfers and welfare payments, reducing poverty and in some cases also inequality, but not assisting productive inclusion. The trade survey demonstrated clearly that the commercial sector is highly reliant on continued injection of public funds into local economies through different types of federal financial transfers, which have increased the purchasing power of the poor. In the forest belt trade is also sustained by agriculture, but traders also attributed sustained business to the growth in public spending, which followed the steep fall in cocoa prices in the early 2000s. In addition, the changes in development indicators from 2000 to 2010 also imply that income and financial transfers have had the greatest impacts on income growth and poverty reduction in semi-arid municipalities with little alternative sources of income.

An additional factor which emerged as significant in the rural community survey as differentiating development dynamics geographically was the variable level of community-based social mobilization, leading to varying levels of social capital development across rural communities in different locations. Federal policies favouring social inclusion have been more actively taken up in some municipalities notably in Mutuípe particularly, in which

community-based producer associations collaborated directly with local government and the rural unions, to organise income generating and economic development projects. To some degree this is a collateral effect of the presence of large numbers of small farmers in parts of the valley, which, process, combined with favourable market conditions and access to land has provided fertile ground for these types of social and institutional changes. However, the process whereby these have come about have involved the active engagement of human agency construction of social and human capital, and is linked to the development of broader policy networks at national and broader regional scales leading to the emergence of a new social coalition in the Jiquiriçá Valley region which has in turn brought about political and institutional change. The nature of this social coalition, how it developed and the role it has played in the valley is explored in Chapter Six.

The unevenness of markets and the varying effects of public policies in different parts of the Jiquiriçá valley illustrate the great importance of ‘soft’ social and institutional factors such as these in promoting inclusive and sustainable economic development, in addition to the ‘hard’ factors recognized by economic geography. From the standpoints of economic sociology and social geography, the valley’s economic development can be considered to be socially and spatially embedded, and a broader set of concepts than those that are usually considered in economic geography is required to understand more nuanced and geographically distinctive development processes. These involve social relations between actors, including land and agrarian relations, formal and informal institutions, including the distribution of property rights, labour relations, reciprocity and the organisation of formal markets and different types of social capital. In understanding the Jiquiriçá valley’s economic development, these concepts are at least as important as those of natural resource endowment, agglomeration, infrastructure, market demand, urban growth and linkages, central to thinking in economic geography.

The development of agricultural markets, the impacts these have had and the constraints they impose on development of the Jiquiriçá valley, can be considered in relation to the categories of property rights, rules of exchange, forms of governance and conceptions of control utilised by Fligstein (2001) to analyse development and change in market structures in his work on the sociology of market organisation. The organisation of agricultural markets depends upon changes in property rights (land distribution, ownership of production units and establishment of new marketing, processing and transport facilities), rules of exchange (weights and

measures, quality standards, price information or price controls) the overall governance of specific markets (laws and regulations governing the sector, tax regimes, arrangements for collaboration between state and industry in research, development, investment and technical assistance) and the dominant conceptions of control of market organisation.

Property rights: Whereas changing external market demands for different crops and commodities have been the principle factor determining economic opportunities and driving producer's responses, the differing structures of land-ownership in the Jiquiriçá valley has been the principal internal factor leading to geographically differentiated local trajectories by mediating the effects of market changes and of public policies in different locations. Although social policies provide a safety net against the effects of excessive land subdivision of small plots, and local initiatives have enabled some diversification, there is no available mechanism to improve land distribution or access to land in the forest zone. Limited access to land constrains the scope for diversification and leads to continuing out-migration. Land scarcity and high land values resulting from the prosperity of cocoa make land reform impossible under present policies and mechanisms to improve land access and distribution now require serious attention. While land reform has stimulated small-scale market development in some transitional and in semi- arid areas, its overall impact has been limited in relation to the scale of land concentration, income poverty, and unemployment, and its expansion is reliant on good access to both product markets and to water resources, both of which are limited. Land reform will require substantial additional investment to generate new productive opportunities on significant scale.

In the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole, despite the success of small-scale farming, and its importance in achieving reductions in income poverty and inequality, particularly in the forest zone, economic relations between poor small farmers and local elites remain largely unchanged, as a result of maintenance of received structures of property rights, and also of allied forms of exchange, governance and control of value chains and natural resources by more powerful, and in many cases external actors. As a result of these factors, and of continuing land sub-division amongst small farming families, combined with the lack of opportunities for land reform in the forest belt, increasing income equality in the eleven municipalities where this occurred, was not matched by increasing equality in access to assets.

Rules of exchange: commodity prices set by global markets are mediated by terms imposed by intermediary buyers, traders and transporters (farm gate spot prices, advance purchase credit terms, preferences for high bulk / low quality) who can thereby maximise margins and reproduce their dominant positions in value chains, leaving no incentives for small producers to gain through quality improvements or other innovations. Low levels of producer organisation reduce the scope for the poor to increase their bargaining power in order to alter value chain structures or established prices and trading mechanisms, and the state has not actively intervened in markets, except through small-scale public food procurement. Although small-scale producers in the forest zone benefited greatly from the cocoa boom in the mid-1990s, these conditions have not been repeated, and the persistence of income inequalities in Mutuípe and other forest zone municipalities suggests that larger producers and traders continue to benefit most from strong agricultural markets and that for small farmers to make further gains, improvements in market organisation will be needed to add and capture greater value added. Elsewhere, production of coffee, cattle and crops adapted to semi-arid regions are in long-term decline, and public policy has done nothing to improve their competitiveness. As regards labour, while minimum wages, labour rights, and state social benefits have improved the bargaining position of the rural poor, also strengthening the monetisation of labour relations (as opposed to sharecropping and reciprocity based on social obligation), they have also contributed indirectly to the overall decline in farm employment in a context in which formal employment is low and industrial development virtually absent.

Forms of governance: On the one hand, the territorial impact of centralised sanitary, phytosanitary, and environmental regulations have foreclosed economic options such as coffee, beef cattle, and continuation of the logging industry. On the other, there are no meso-level governance institutions in a position to orient and assist economic development for the valley as a whole or its different sub-regions and under territorial development policies as so far applied in Bahia there have been only faltering and incomplete attempts to establish territorial governance in the Jiquiriçá valley. As a result, there are no institutions capable of action across multiple individual municipalities or integrating sector policies and programmes, and linking multiple actors, into a coherent territorial approach maximising the value of local assets, and focused on local needs and potential. A key gap is the lack of policy initiatives which generate incentives or capacity to improve creation and capture of value-added to local produce through broader development of small-scale agro-processing projects and investment in medium or larger scale processing facilities and marketing

arrangements. Government has not invested in alternative marketing or processing arrangements for major cash crops, for which policy has been pre-eminently top down and commodity-based, focused on maximising output (and in some cases safeguarding overall quality) of particular commodities, without regard for the territorial impact and development of the value chains.

The dominant conceptions of control: This is a concept applied by Fligstein (2002) to market organisation, but is also relevant to land and natural resource use and to the exercise of local government. Socially embedded conceptions of control and acceptance of established practice in the organization of market structures and value chains, natural resource use and the exercise of local government, have also played a powerful role, and these are slow to change. One dimension of present arrangements for control is the structure of value chains for the valley's principal products; at present this constrains the emergence of strong farmer organizations, and small producers have little or no control over input supplies, technology and marketing remaining dependent on intermediary traders. The dominance of large wholesalers and of agro-industrial buyers in value chains for commercial crops remained unchallenged as a result of low levels of organisation by farmers' organisations and the general acceptance of patron –client relations and an individualist outlook in the *habitus* (Bourdieu 2005; see the discussion of this concept in Chapter Two) of most small producers. Farmer organisation is generally low and the value chains for the principal farm commodities remain dominated by larger traders, middlemen and external actors in commodity trade and agro-industries outside of the valley.

Although agricultural prosperity has also stimulated the growth of trade, services and the construction sector, overall economic growth and diversification have been limited and the local economy remains unable to absorb much surplus labour, without significant investments and innovation in land reform and in market organisation. It is thus difficult to envisage significant further development of the valley's agriculture without investments in marketing and agro-processing and strengthening the capacity of local value chain actors, to enable them to add greater value to produce, and retain a greater proportion locally. For agricultural markets as a whole, farmers themselves, and other local actors such as municipal government and farmer unions lack the resources (funds for investment, technical expertise, access to transport, infrastructure and social capital or political influence gained through stronger organisation) to challenge or displace existing arrangements. As a result it is necessary to

look more closely at the role of the state and of actor coalitions in market governance and the conditions under which collective agency and progressive social coalitions can emerge.

A second dimension of the control of productive relations relates to the extraction of timber resources by external actors, and the vested interests of large landowners and cattle producers, which have each led to widespread degradation of land and water resources. Conceptions of control of natural resource use are only slowly undergoing transformation, from private to public control, but without mechanisms for greater social control or stakeholder participatory management of public goods: a long history of absolute private control of natural resources has led to irreversible degradation of valuable Atlantic forest, through commercial logging and small-scale timber extraction; commercial charcoal extraction has degraded much of the *caatinga*; and degradation of farm land and pasture has led to siltation of rivers and water bodies. This has impacted negatively on the valley's typical resources – highly diverse and unique forest ecosystems and the Jiquiriçá River itself – and undermined their potential value and utility in economic diversification through tourism, conservation, leisure recreation and scientific research. In addition landowners' riparian rights and a lack of public regulation of ground- and surface water extraction now jeopardises the sustainability of irrigated horticulture and of land reform settlements in areas where these are one of the only economic alternatives. At present there are no institutional mechanisms which provide farmers with incentives to shift out of cattle production, curb destructive land use practices oriented towards short term profits, or restore vegetation and tree cover. Although the maintenance of limited conservation areas around water courses is now a requirement and removal of remaining forest patches has been outlawed, monitoring and enforcement capacity is extremely limited. Rural unions and community based organisations are showing increasing interest in organic production and conservation farming methods, in part because of lack of cash resources for purchase of agrochemical inputs. Nevertheless the fragmented mosaic of multiple land use systems makes sustainable resource management at a locality or landscape scale particularly challenging, reflected in increasing incidence of conflicts over access to and protection of water sources between small and large-scale farmers.

Third, the capture of federal resource transfers by the dominant coalitions controlling municipal government has enabled them to reproduce their political and associated economic power despite erosion of the traditional economic base of large *latifundia*. Although the

social dominance and economic power of traditional local elites have declined in much of the valley these groups retain municipal political power, assisted by their use of federal transfers to create employment and maintain social legitimacy. The expansion of income transfers since 2003 has enabled substantial poverty reduction and overall income growth in these municipalities, but inequalities have continued to increase and in some, such as Brejões, Maracas and Iramaia which have suffered badly from collapses and restrictions in agricultural markets, rural populations have continued to decline substantially. No credible economic alternatives for the areas which remain dominated by unproductive land holdings and traditional local oligarchies have yet emerged, and the main role of public policy is now to provide a social safety net.

5.9.4 Conclusions

The valley's success in relatively inclusive growth and poverty reduction is thus the combined result of the fortuitous combination of extensive small-scale farming with diversified and prosperous markets in part of the valley, together with general effects of state policies and public spending in the valley as a whole. The outcomes of market driven agricultural development have however been very different in different parts of the valley in part due to higher natural resource potential and suitability for multiple cash crops of the forest zone and the more productive transitional areas but also, fundamentally, because of different agrarian structures. The established structure based on family farming linked to dynamic regional markets is the key to the valley's prosperity, in the forested lower valley, and to a degree in the horticultural production areas of the valley's transition zone.

In relation to the research question on what factors are driving inclusive growth in the Jiquiriçá valley, the differences in economic performance amongst municipalities and also across different specific rural communities can to a large extent be attributed to variations in three main factors:

Natural resource characteristics and capabilities (levels of rainfall and soil quality), largely a function of geographic location, but with enormous micro-variation according to altitude, slope and local micro climate, affecting crops that can be produced and productivity: conditions in the transitional zone are much less suitable for cocoa but allow cultivation of a wide range of horticultural crops;

Integration into commodity markets, based on geographical proximity, linkages, accessibility, and the impact of market changes on production and employment opportunities. Market dynamics have had different impacts at different times and in different locations. Whereas dynamic markets have had beneficial effects, price volatility and falling demands for various products have impacted negatively especially in areas dependent on particular markets, implying that market diversification is an important secondary factor affecting development outcomes.

Land holding structure and land availability as a result of received historical settlement patterns, demographic growth and population density (these relate in turn to variations in natural resource capability but also in location and accessibility). Whereas Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá in the forest zone have large number of small farm households and smaller numbers of mediums sized farms (10 – 40 ha) and very few large estates, transitional zone municipalities such as Ubaíra and Cravolândia have many more medium sized farms and greater numbers of large estates.

A fourth factor promoting a positive development dynamic in the valley as a whole has been:

Public spending and policy: although policies have had different effects in different parts of the valley, according to their productive characteristics, and mediated by the agrarian and social structures that have emerged, the financial transfers of the last decade have had the general effect of boosting local economies and providing a safety net not only for poor people, but also for poor municipalities, resulting in convergent development trends across the valley, despite underlying economic and social differences. The large improvements in poverty reduction and reversal of overall economic decline in most of the valley's municipalities experienced since 2003 implies that public policy now has a greater impact on development outcomes, than the gains for the poor from increasing integration into expanding agricultural markets, which were largely achieved in previous years. Nevertheless, the importance of public policies now creates a serious risk of on-going dependency on income transfers, unless these can also be linked to policies to promote both market diversification and economic empowerment of the poor.

The above factors have together resulted in a degree of economic diversification and urban development which have in turn reinforced the positive trends. These two additional factors,

while not of major importance in the Jiquiriçá valley due to the economic predominance of agriculture and the absence of a major regional city, have been identified as critical to sustainable and inclusive territorial growth and development in other contexts (Berdegué et al 2012).

A fifth “soft” factor, also highlighted by the RTD programme which in combination with the others factors has induced localised positive development dynamics is:

The emergence of a progressive coalition of social actors which has taken place in and around Mutuípe in the forest belt, and linked to a broader social and political coalition in Brazil, that has actively promoted productive and institutional change. It appears that the role of social movements, the development of associative activity and social capital, the emergence of progressive social coalitions, the associated institutional changes that promote inclusive development, are key factors in explaining how government policy innovations have had been taken up unevenly, with geographically variable impacts in different parts of the valley, in some cases stimulating more rapid and inclusive economic development, but in others exacerbating dependency on federal transfers.

The development of social coalitions and resulting institutional changes and innovations in the application government policies in this part of the research area are examined in Chapter Six. The implications for rural development policy of the valley’s different development trajectories identified here in Chapter Five, and the reinforcement of positive dynamics that has occurred in Mutuípe but to a much lesser extent elsewhere in the valley, are explored in Chapter Seven.

Chapter 6. SOCIAL NETWORKS, MOVEMENTS, COALITIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THE JIQUIRIÇÁ VALLEY

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 6 addresses the second principal research question: *to what extent has the emergence of new social forces or coalitions of social actors been a significant factor in bringing about institutional changes shaping the course and outcomes of development in the Jiquiriçá valley?* It seeks to answer this question using data gathered from semi structured interviews with key informants engaged in collective action and implementation of developmental government policies, the rural communities survey, and a specific investigation in the five focus municipalities into collaborative social networks and actors' participation in network organisations, specifically the territorial collegiate forum. The results are discussed in relation to the concepts of social capital, social movements, coalitions, institutions and institutional change explored in Chapter Two. The findings are used to present an analysis of the social and geographical nature of collaborative networks and the role of social movements, and actor coalitions (henceforth referred to as *social coalitions*) in the case study area in contributing to practical institutional changes and innovations favouring more inclusive and sustainable local economic growth. The findings on social networks and social coalitions in the valley, together with those on economic development and the impacts of government policies reported in Chapter Five, shed further light on the role of “soft” social and institutional factors that have influenced the dynamic processes that lie behind the positive indicator trends over the last two decades from 1990 in shaping the Jiquiriçá Valley's development.

Specifically, the chapter assesses:

- How social movements, networks and coalitions have developed in the Jiquiriçá Valley;
- whether or not government's territorial development approaches have been effective in consolidating a territorial coalition of actors in the valley, or if the collaborative networks that have developed follow their own social and geographical, or territorial, logic; and

- Significant productive and institutional innovations that have occurred, and the partnership arrangements, networks and coalitions that have shaped them.

From the inception of the field research, local family farmers' rural unions and their allies in this region of the valley were observed to play a leading role in a participatory territorial forum for the Valley, established as a result of Ministry of Agrarian Development and Bahia State government policies to promote *Territórios de Identidade*¹¹⁷. The chapter examines the linkages between actors engaged at local and regional scales in Bahia and the engagement of actors in broader coalitions which have brought about political changes at a national scale in Brazil from the 1980s onwards, and some of the ensuing political and institutional changes and practical innovations brought about by the local coalitions established by the rural unions and other actors in their areas of influence. The extent to which government territorial development policies and approaches have assisted these processes and the implications of the research findings for policy are further explored in Chapter Seven.

The discussion begins in section 6.2 by outlining the range of social actors concerned with rural development of the valley. Section 6.3 discusses findings from the rural communities survey and key informant interviews that point towards the roles of social capital and social coalitions in bringing about more inclusive and sustainable development, noting that collective action and related innovations have been relatively localised to the municipalities in the valley's forest belt, in particular to Mutuípe (as mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter Five). Section 6.4 presents an account of the emergence of a rural union movement that has developed in the eastern part of the valley, and the alliances and partnerships forged with other actors, drawing on interviews conducted with movement members and collaborators and on historical sources, and with reference to key elements of the conceptual framework. Section 6.5 then provides a summary of the various network organisations present in the case study area, including those established by the rural unions and others with which they and other actors are engaged.

Section 6.6, a central part of the chapter, reports the findings of the investigation into collaborative network relations in the valley. This begins by summarising the relevant

¹¹⁷ Introduced and explained in outline in Chapters 1 and 3; the Territorial Collegiate Forum and the local rural union movement headquartered in Mutuípe also provided the entry points for the field research conducted in the valley, as explained in Chapter 4 on methodology

findings from first stage of field research to provide an overview of actors' participations in collaborative networks, the various territorial network organisations that exist in the valley, and their differing but overlapping geographical constituencies. The findings of more systematic study of collaborative social networks in the five focus municipalities are then reported. This assessed: a) the extent to which the collegiate has been able to organise and consolidate a broader coalition of actors in territorial development of the valley as a whole; and b) the collaborative social networks which exist amongst different types of actors within the five focus municipalities investigated. Section 6.7 identifies the range of practical productive innovations that have occurred as reported by the actors, and discusses the principle examples and the partnership arrangements, network relationships and coalitions that have given rise to them.

The chapter's conclusion discusses the scope and limitations for the progressive social coalitions that have emerged in the Jiquiriçá valley in influencing institutional development and performance and contributing to more inclusive economic development in the valley as a whole, and reflects on where and how institutional change and innovation have taken place. The experience of the Jiquiriçá valley territorial collegiate forum, and the scope and limitations of current territorial development policies in bringing about productive and institutional changes will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

6.2 Social actors in the Jiquiriçá valley

The first reconnaissance set of interviews with informants from local government and civil society in different locations identified the significant social actors and organisations active in the Jiquiriçá valley and provided information on differing perceptions of territorial identity (summarised in Chapter Three, the overview of the research area). This section introduces the principal actors present in the case study area concerned with and relevant to its territorial development, Rather than listing exhaustively all social actors physically or operationally present, the investigation focussed on those actors concerned with place-based economic and social development either at a cross-municipal or more local scale within specific municipalities, and engaged in relevant policies and programmes. Accordingly, both internal, locally-based actors and external actors that operate in the valley are included overleaf in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Principal development actors in the Jiquiriçá Valley

TYPE OF ACTOR	SPECIFIC LOCAL ACTORS
<u>Civil Society</u>	
Rural unions and social movements	Rural Workers Unions (STRs / SINTRAFs) - in each Municipality; <i>Pólos Sindicais</i> - Regional Union Centres – linked to, state and national level rural union Federations FETRAF and FETAG-BA ; MST (<i>Movimento Sem Terra</i> , or Landless Rural Workers Movement)
Urban workers unions	SINDIVALE – public sector workers union for the Jiquiriçá valley
Community Associations	Locally-based small-scale Producers’ and Residents’ Associations; Land reform groups; Cultural Associations
NGOs	Centro Sapucaia (an influential and very active Environmental NGO based in Amargosa working to promote social and political engagement in conservation of Atlantic Forest); FASE (an independent agency working with rural unions); REDES (a local NGO supporting environmentally sustainable productive and social development in communities in Ubaíra and Brejões municipalities)
Church organisations	Catholic Church - Diocese de Amargosa and local parish churches – usually municipal; with a number of different pastoral, social organisations promoted and maintained by the church Evangelical churches
<u>Municipal Government</u>	Municipal Prefects (mayors); Municipal Secretaries and officials for Education, Health, Social Affairs, Agriculture, and Economic Development / Infrastructure Environment; Elected Municipal Assembly members; Municipal Councils (consultative and deliberative bodies e.g. for Rural Development, Education, Health ; variable across municipalities in number, membership and constitution)
<u>State Government Secretariats and Agencies</u>	SEPLAN (Planning Secretariat); SEMA, IMA (Environment Secretariat and Institute); SEAGRI, CDA (Agriculture Secretariat and Development Centre; EBDA (extension agency); State Veterinary Services SECULTURA (Culture Secretariat); State Regional Directorates for Health (DIRES) and Education (DIREC);
<u>Federal Agencies</u>	CEPLAC (cocoa development agency); MDA/SDT (Ministry of Agrarian Reform and Territorial Development Secretariat; INCRA (Land Reform Institute); MDS (Social Development Ministry); SEBRAE (Enterprise development agency), SENAI IBAMA (Environment Institute)
Development Banks	Banco de Nordeste; Banco do Brasil
<u>Educational Institutions</u>	UFRB (Federal University of Reconcavo, campuses in Amargosa e Cruz das Almas) UNEB (Bahia State University, campus in St. Antonio de Jesús); IFBAINO(Federal Higher Education Institute – Santa Ines Campus; Local schools
<u>Territorial consortia and Fora</u>	Territorial Collegiate Forum; Prefects’ Consortium (MERCVALE); CONSAD (food Security Council (now extinct); CIVJ (former inter-municipal consortium organiserdas an NGO (now extinct)
<u>Private Sector</u>	Rural traders; Agro- industrial buyers (outside the case study area); Small-scale industries; retailers and CDL (shopkeepers association, functional only in Mutuípe

The listing includes primarily corporate institutional or collective actors, but also extends to significant individuals such as political leaders, officials and business people whose actions

as individuals or institutional agents also influential or impacting on territorial development dynamics, either at local, municipal or broader cross-municipal scales.

As summarised by Olalde and Quan (2011)¹¹⁸ the principal actors present are state agencies and rural workers' unions, civil society being otherwise weakly developed. During recent decades numerous community residents and small-scale producers associations have also been formed, notably in the east of the valley and in many cases as a result of social mobilisation and development work by the rural union movement, often but not always linked to the implementation of government programmes. In the last decade a number of small NGOs focussing on the natural environment and sustainable agriculture and land use have emerged, although NGOs specifically concerned with social or economic development activities *per se* are not present. Only one external NGO was identified - FASE¹¹⁹, a national NGO dedicated to collaboration with the family farmers union movements and with a strong presence in Bahia.

Apart from municipal governments (or “prefectures”) as local authorities, headed by elected mayors (or “prefects”) and staffed by elected (and remunerated) local councillors and by municipal public officials, the state actors present are all external to the territory, but work in collaboration with municipal government and other local actors to coordinate service delivery and implement federal or state government programmes. These agencies organise their activities based on their own operational regions which generally do not correspond geographically with the Jiquiriçá Valley either as the officially designated “Identity Territory” or as a river basin. The public servants involved are in many cases domiciled within the valley, or recruited from the local population and are based in offices in one or other of the larger towns such as Amargosa, Jaguaquara, Mutuípe or Ubaíra. CEPLAC (the Federal Cocoa Development Agency) and EBDA (the State government Agricultural Development and Extension agency) both maintain regional offices in the valley, sharing offices with municipal government in operationally central locations (including Mutuípe for CEPLAC and sharing offices with in Santa Ines, Jaguaquara, Ubaíra and Planaltino for EBDA). These two agencies, together with other state actors such as the Bahia Public

¹¹⁸ This was a conference paper written in Portuguese during the field research, co-authored by myself and a local collaborator of the RTD programme.

¹¹⁹ *Federação de Órgãos para Assistência Social e Educacional* - Federation of Organisations for Social and Educational Assistance. FASE was founded in 1961 to support development of community-based development producers' organisations, and cooperatives. FASE is based in Rio de Janeiro and operates in six states, including Bahia, where the FETRAF affiliated rural unions are amongst its principal clients.

Ministry (Ministério Público da Bahia), the Bahia state government Secretariats for Health, Education and Environment, and IMA (the state government Institute for Environment) all coordinate activities from regional bases located in neighbouring cities of Jequié or Santo Antonio de Jesus, outside the valley's territorial limits.

6.3 Fieldwork findings on rural community social organisation

As reported in Chapter 5 the rural communities field survey encountered a significantly higher level of community-based social organisations in Mutuípe as compared with the other Municipalities. Of the five Mutuípe communities visited during the survey, four had active community associations. Three of these involved approximately 50 % of households in their respective village communities, and were engaged in public food acquisition projects that supplied fresh produce and locally prepared foodstuffs (juices, fruit pulp, cakes, biscuits, soups and school meals) to schools and municipal social projects, also generating employment for the community. In another community visited the association had collapsed but was in the process of re-organisation, and the fifth community had a smaller association of poor farmers, also selling produce to the Municipality. These communities reported that between 50% and 80% of households had family members who were members of the local rural union. Two other Mutuípe communities that were visited during the first stage of fieldwork and not included in the survey were also found to have active associations, one actively engaged in a union-led extension and food security project, and another pursuing community-based reforestation and small-scale marketing for processed local produce. In addition a peri-urban community association visited in Mutuípe's *Bairro de Cajazeira* also prepared and supplied foodstuffs for schools. For all eight of these locations, in five cases informants reported historical efforts at community organisation by the Catholic Church, and in all cases some form of collaborative assistance from local government was reported. In seven of the eight cases local women were involved in community leadership and organising roles and associations were observed to have a high rate of female participation.

Informants in Mutuípe reported that the municipality has 25 community-based associations, 17 of which were fully legalised, operational and actively pursuing economic development projects. The Municipality had established a rural development programme targeting the most remote and poorest communities, in partnership with the rural union, community associations and other organisations. Spokespersons of beneficiary communities interviewed

reported having active links between different residents associations and participation in local technical training courses in the establishment of income generating projects, growing demands amongst local residents, especially amongst women, to join these projects and improvements in transport access to Mutuípe and connections with markets including community participation in regional agricultural fairs¹²⁰. Mutuípe today has a denser network of social organisation than Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra resulting from community development work by the Catholic Church in the 1980s, but also by the Municipality's own development programme, although the church was also involved in working with rural communities there. The rural union movement was found to be active in all four municipalities included in the survey, but not well established in Cravolândia. Union activists reported difficulties in achieving collaboration with the municipal prefectures, especially in Ubaíra which had a very conservative prefect.

In Jiquiriçá, and Ubaíra, where the Municipalities have not so far supported similar programmes, a number of communities had been offered support by the local prefects as beneficiaries of a previous generation of state government funded projects to obtain cassava processing equipment, and sanitation facilities. The communities concerned reported that these projects had not been sustained and in some cases led to indebtedness of local associations. Informants in two locations in Mutuípe reported a similar history of failed associations and projects organised at the behest of the municipality. "*Under the mandate of the old Prefect, associations were formed politically*"¹²¹.

In Ubaíra the survey encountered a number of community associations that were inactive and had apparently been created or were subject to interference by local prefects providing temporary assistance in exchange for political allegiance. Officials of these associations had political links with the dominant parties in the local prefecture, worked as municipal councillors and did not maintain a permanent residence in the rural area. There were no regular meetings or self-determined agendas and meetings were called at short notice for purposes of technical assistance and training (by CEPLAC) or by the municipality itself in the run-up to local elections to discuss assistance the community might need.

¹²⁰ Information provided by local informants during visits and discussions held in communities of Rua da Palha, Fojo, Pindoba on 22nd 23 July 2010.

¹²¹ Interview on 19 July 2010 with Marcos Medes Melo, community activist from Agua Fria, Mutuípe, recruited as a community coordinator for Mutuípe's *Desenvolvimento Regional Sustentavel* Programme

The situation in Jiquiriçá was somewhat different as the incoming Prefect had created a Municipal Secretariat for Agriculture, which had prioritised two communities in remote locations for assistance. According to the Jiquiriçá municipal agriculture secretary “Associations are not very effective in Jiquiriçá – the leaders are just concerned with getting access to credit or in becoming local councillors [a paid position in Brazil]. Of 23 associations in Jiquiriçá municipality only five are legalised and only two of these are not in debt” Moreover “politicisation makes it [the development of associations] difficult”.¹²² The three communities in this municipality visited during the survey (some 15 months after this initial interview) included two groups that were engaged in supplying local farm produce for municipal purchase, albeit with technical difficulties and limited support. One of these was a formally constituted association, and the other was an association in the process of reactivation with assistance from the rural union, following an earlier failed project in the 1990s which had led the association and its members into debt. The groups had some assistance to develop food sales projects but had not benefited from training in small-scale agro-processing and preparation of foodstuffs for sale, as had the communities in Mutuípe.

In one remote location in Cravolândia, informal community organisation revolved around a local matriarch who was a prominent figure in the community; this person had been appointed deputy prefect and acted as the link person with the municipality, arranging help with school and hospital transport and maintenance of essential services, and public employment, through informal temporary contracts arranged by the Prefect, a mechanism that secured the community’s political loyalties. “As result of poverty, people look to the municipal leadership for everything, principally for employment.... Today everything is much better”¹²³

The field work findings on the location of active community associations are borne out by a recent study commissioned by SEPLAN, the Bahia State Planning Secretariat into the scope for development of *comercio solidário* or social enterprise by co-operatives and producer associations (UNEB/ITCP 2010). The study investigated 79 community associations including some co-operatives, of which 68 were operating some sort of economic enterprise, the vast majority concerned with agricultural production and including some engaged in small-scale agro-processing, handicrafts, and recycling of solid waste. The municipalities

¹²² Interview with Igor Leal, Agriculture Secretary for Jiquiriçá Municipality, 20 March 2009

¹²³ Interview with Dona Netia, community leader in Ilha Formosa / Três Braços, Cravolândia, 30 August 2010

with the greatest concentration of community enterprises were Maracas with 13 in the semi-arid zone, and Mutuípe, with 11, both municipalities with Workers Party (PT) administrations. The remainder were scattered throughout the valley with only two in Jiquiriçá and three in Ubaíra and four in Santa Inês, and one in Cravolândia. Except for Jiquiriçá, all of these were managed by land reform groups. Significantly 36% of all the community enterprises were associated with land reform, a process which even in the absence of a previous history of social organisation or assistance from local government requires collective mobilisation in order to ensure that access to land is accompanied by land-based productive activities, which are mandated and eligible for subsidized credit in the case of land reform purchase projects.

Amongst the municipalities investigated during fieldwork, the levels of community organisation and the density of social capital varied considerably between the different municipalities and were clearly higher in Mutuípe. Here the levels of “bonding” internal group solidarity and levels of participation, as well as horizontal bridges (via the rural unions between groups) and vertical links with external agencies, notably the municipality itself but also specialist agencies carrying out training, extension and credit programmes were all higher. The quality of leadership and levels of female participation were also observably higher. The underlying factors favouring higher levels of social capital cited by informants were the historical engagement of the Catholic Church in community organisation and the stance taken by local government, both of which varied from location to location. The engagement of other external agencies in Mutuípe (informants mentioned SEBRAE, CEPLAC and FASE), brokered and facilitated by the Municipality appeared to be important in building capacity and enabling successful local income generation projects to take place. Moreover, the successful associations were formally constituted with a leadership independent of the municipal prefecture. All the municipalities had a prior history of informal organisation mediated by politically connected individuals, which had not established local capacity, high rates of participation or sustainable local development projects. Outside of Mutuípe, this continued to be the main mode of interaction of rural communities with local government and outside agencies, although to a lesser degree in Jiquiriçá than in Ubaíra and Cravolândia.

6.4 Emergence of a social movement and local political change

Historically, municipal power in the Jiquiriçá valley has been dominated by a small number of powerful and inter-related land owning families - a ruling social coalition - which ensured privileged access to economic opportunities for themselves, their allies and social and kinship networks. Rocha (2010) documented the family-based social network which held power in Mutuípe until 2000 and continues to dominate in neighbouring municipalities in the valley. The patronage-based political system of *Coronelismo*, (Leal 1975) centred around the leading figures (known in Brazil as *coroneis*) of powerful, land owning families, in large part the descendants of privileged colonial families who exercised control in the interior of Northeast Brazil during the late 19th and 20th centuries through the exchange of favours with their political backers and the patronage and loyalty of peoples settled in the localities they occupied¹²⁴. These informal, institutional practices continue today, adapted to the development of a modern political system in which members of the same families and their allies acquired political positions (Rocha 2010). In the Jiquiriçá valley, public administration and local business development became essentially family affairs, controlled by local elites cemented by kinship, friendship and political allegiance with close links to the ruling social - political coalition in Bahia dominant for almost 40 years¹²⁵. This network in turn assisted municipal prefects throughout Bahia, in return for their political support, which by and large carried the electoral support of municipal constituents in Federal and State level elections independently of prefects own political allegiance¹²⁶. The prefects themselves typically grant or withhold resources as favours or sanctions to manipulate loyalties and voting patterns in constituencies characterised by continuing poverty, low educational levels and relative

¹²⁴ *Coronelismo* is more fully explained in the Brazilian political literature: Leal (1975 [1949], p.40) “a compromise, an exchange of favours between public authority, progressively strengthened, and the decadent social influence of local barons, notably landowners”. The emergence of *coronelist* relations results from “the superimposition of forms developed by representative politics and an inadequate economic and social structure”, not signifying “mere survival of private power, but its hypertrophy as a phenomenon typical of our colonial history”

¹²⁵ For over 30 years from the 1970s until the mid-2000s political rule and economic power in Bahia was centred around one of Brazil’s most powerful oligarchs Antonio Carlos Magalhães (ACM), former Governor of Bahia, subsequently a leading national senator and architect of the political alliances controlled by the conservative PFL (Partido Federal Liberal) party, which maintained a strong traditionalist political base in Bahia. Following the death of ACM, the PFL lost control in Bahia and sought to distance itself from its conservative *coronelista* image and rebranded itself nationally as “*Dem*”, or *Partido Democrático* (Democratic Party).

¹²⁶ ACM and the PFL (footnote 7 above) were at the centre of a broader patronage-based movement, ideology and set of latter day *coronelista* political practices referred to locally as *Carlismo*. One aspect of this phenomenon is its network capacity to manipulate and exploit interests and loyalties of local political figures across formal political divides, for instance by granting state government or PFL party political assistance and collaboration in the local political and economic agendas of non PFL and even PT, MST and ultra-left municipal prefects, candidates and councillors.

isolation of rural areas. These processes have shaped the development of local government and political institutions in the region, reproducing the historically established structures of political and economic power over time.

From the 1980s onwards, however, social change and re-democratisation have gradually eroded these power structures. In the last 25 years following the end of dictatorship, new federal social and labour policies, together with market changes have eroded the economic power base of the traditional elites (Favareto *et al.* 2012a). As a result the traditional quasi-feudal system of production and political power reliant on direct and near absolute control of labour resources by a land owning elite is proving less and less sustainable, and new social coalitions, or modern variations on older ones have emerged. In the forest areas of the Jiquiriçá valley in and around Mutuípe, a new social and political coalition has developed, not linked to the old elite, but based on the rural union movement, and including small and medium-scale farmers, but also extending to urban workers, traders, small business people and professionals. In the last decade this coalition has brought about political and institutional changes and instigated new local economic projects.

The social transformation underway in the Jiquiriçá Valley is gradual and geographically uneven, and it is part of a broader transformation underway in Brazil, in which social movements have played a significant role. During the 1980s and 1990s a process of social mobilisation took place across rural Brazil, in which a key element was the development and promulgation within the Catholic Church of liberation theology, which advocated for increased rights and improved living conditions for the rural poor, and nurtured development of community-based, self-help organisations. Community development work in the Diocese of Amargosa, was led by one particular priest, Padre Esmeraldo¹²⁷ and assisted by a group of nuns who worked across the parishes of Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra, the parts of the Diocese where small-scale peasant farmers were concentrated. Here they established a network of church-based community groups known as *Comunidades Ecclesias de Base* (CEBs) or Christian Base Communities, starting in Mutuípe, where seven separate CEBs were established at the beginning of the 1980s. The CEBs provided a direct linkage between

¹²⁷ Padre Esmeraldo was frequently referred to and held in high esteem by union leaders, community activists and church goers during the field research. He was active in the region from 1982 – 1996, now, Bishop of Santarem de Para. Following changes in political orientation of the Catholic Church hierarchy, the influence of liberation theology has waned, although similar work continues on a broader regional scale through the *Articulacao socio-transformadora* of the Diocese of Amargosa, and the training and methods used have been extended to a younger generation.

the three parish churches and rural communities and formed the basis for community organisation and establishment of village churches, established by socially active priests during the dictatorship¹²⁸. As described by Mainwaring (1986) in his account of the Catholic Church and politics in Brazil from 1916 to 1985, given the difficulties faced by the Church in developing adequate clerical contact with the people, as a result of the lack of priests in rural regions, and the large size of dispersed parishes which discouraged a sense of community, Brazil's progressive clergy emphasised the formation of lay communities as a means of parish renewal and broader community building. The CEBs, in effect, constituted a new type of church, in which the lay community groups played an active organising role, while the formally constituted Church became witness for and advocate against the hardships and suffering endured by its community members.

The CEBs were primarily religious, devotional groups, but they were also politically significant, as unions and neighbourhood associations were repressed by the state, except for those purposely created by and dependent on it. The CEBs combined traditional religious practices which had prayer and Bible study, with a socially progressive message, giving theology a new political content (Mainwaring 1986). New approaches to catechism, liturgy and community building emerged in the CEBs, based on the emerging philosophy of liberation theology, and came to shape its development, as its leading thinkers such as Leonardo Boff reflected on the experiences of grass-roots, lay movements. The CEBs became virtually the only popular organisations in Brazil that allowed people to organise to discuss their daily lives, values and political needs (*ibid.* p.178-9). As a result of support by the hierarchy of the church in various dioceses, the CEBs became a mass movement estimated by Mainwaring to have involved as many as two million people.

In the Jiquiriçá Valley, the CEBs functioned as rural community centres, where lay community leaders played an active ecclesiastical role, organising devotional groups which alongside prayer, encouraged group reflection on poverty and social problems, overcoming fatalistic attitudes by promoting mutual aid and joint action to address them. Initially, the CEBs came to express demands for extension of schooling and health care to rural areas, reiterated by the Church. The CEBs later formed the basis for formation of municipal rural

¹³In addition to information gathered in local interviews and from secondary sources, this account draws on information on the CEBs in the research areas was provided by Luis Argolo a post graduate history student at UNEB investigating the history of the CEBs in the three parishes of Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra during the 1980s and 1990s, and who shared some of his unpublished work (Argolo 2009).

unions (STRs) in the mid -1980s, first in the parishes of Jiquiriçá and Ubaira and subsequently in the neighbouring municipalities of Laje, Santa Ines and Cravolândia.

It was Padre Esmeraldo who organised the rural unions (during the 1980s), the union in Mutuípe was founded in 1986.... Jiquiriçá is older, from 1982. The first union was founded in São Miguel das Matas “on the 2nd attempt”, in 1977... as soon as they began to meet and when this was found out they were arrested and were imprisoned. Some “companheiros” managed to escape, and later they managed. There was a Padre who helped start the union in S.Miguel, Padre Riberto, who died recently.....If it wasn’t for the participation of the Diocese, I think the unions could have emerged later, but they wouldn’t have managed to establish themselves at that time (during the dictatorship); few unions would have managed to keep going if it wasn’t for partnership with the Secretariat of the Church, nothing would have changed.

(Gildasio, Mutuípe rural union activist)¹²⁹

It was the church that helped us. The church organised projects with money from Germany, Belgium, they had to raise moneythey had groups, a basis of interested people, they were interested and they had to educate these groups and the church trained us in that period, this is how this group was created, and was part of a broader body of people. The padres had a vocation not only for faith but for life...some people had to meet in secret, here for instance it was like this... people travelled from all over, Baixo Sul, Sertão, to discuss, we went, leaving before dawn, they helped us to build capacity, not at that stage for the union, but a clandestine thing, we were part of that, with the help of the church, which had resources. Afterwards the union emerged, 1982, formalised in 1986...

(Erasmus, rural union president, Mutuípe)¹³⁰

Padre Esmeraldo (today the Bishop of Santarem de Para); was persecuted by the Dictatorship in 1982; at that time, family farming was not sustainable.

(Maria Lourenca, Laje rural union organiser)¹³¹

As the influence of liberation theology waned within the hierarchy of the Brazilian church, and Christian communities and churches became established in rural areas, there was pressure from neo-conservatives to extend membership of the CEBs to all social classes, not only the poor, and to abandon a political role (Mainwaring 1986). According to local historian Luiz Argolo, the CEBs in the Jiquiriçá valley came to assume more exclusively religious functions, although they have continued to form the basis for autonomous community organisations, “the *locus* of political mobilisation shifted from the CEBs themselves to the community associations and emergent rural unions organised by the

¹²⁹ Interviewed with other FETRAF rural union activists in Mutuípe on 5 August 2009.

¹³⁰ Interviewed with other FETRAF rural union activists on 5 August 2009.

¹³¹ Interviewed in March 2009 during a group discussion held in Laje

community leaders who had emerged from the CEBs”¹³². Union membership was largely based on and overlapped closely with that of the CEBs, and this is one of the main reasons why there is a high level of social mobilisation and participation in civic affairs in Mutuípe today. The autonomous local unions which originated in Jiquiriçá had no direct linkages with political parties, but once formally established, they became affiliated to the *Federação de Trabalhadores de Agricultura da Bahia* (FETAG-BA), the dominant rural union Federation in Bahia, in turn affiliated to the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG), the largest national rural workers organisation established in 1963. The main constituency of FETAG were landless peasants, entirely dependent on landowners for access to employment and land for subsistence production, usually through sharecropping arrangements. In the Jiquiriçá Valley, however, the local unions’ membership was mainly composed of small-scale family farmers many of whom also worked as seasonal and casual labourers on larger farms.

FETRAF (*Federação de Trabalhadores de Agricultura Familiar*), a rival national rural union Federation representing small-scale family farmers was formally created in 2001 by family farmer dominated municipal rural workers unions in Southern Brazil that withdrew from CONTAG because of social and political differences (Abramovay *et al.* 2007). As in the eastern Jiquiriçá valley and some other parts of Bahia, the family farmers unions in the South had emerged from the CEBs, with union activists and leaders educated and supported by the Catholic Church. During the 1970s and 1980s, these and other Catholic Church-linked oppositional movements had closer ideological ties with CUT (*Central Unica dos Trabalhadores*), the national workers organisation established by the Catholic left, than to CONTAG, and CUT is today the largest trade union confederation in Brazil. The church-based unions representing family farmers in various municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley, and in parts of Recôncavo, Chapada Diamantina and other regions of Bahia where family farming is socially and economically important, all shared similar affinities with CUT and in 2004 also dissociated from FETAG-BA to join FETRAF.

A further complication of union politics in Bahia was that FETAG-BA was affiliated to the Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB), whereas the national federation CONTAG, alongside FETAG federations in other Brazilian states and FETRAF were all politically affiliated to the Workers Party (PT) which emerged as the political wing of the social movements sponsored

¹³² Interview with local religious historian Luiz Argolo on 14 September 2010.

by the Catholic Church (see Table 6.2, overleaf). Brazilian legislation following the 1988 constitution permits only one rural workers' union per municipality, and only one rural union federation in each state. In the Jiquiriçá valley only some municipal unions - those in the east of the valley which emerged from the CEBs, and in a few adjacent municipalities - were linked to FETRAF. In other municipalities, local unions were established and supported by FETAG-BA. The consequence was that FETRAF affiliated unions coexisted uneasily alongside those led by FETAG in an atmosphere of implacable and at first sight inexplicable sectarian ideological difference, driven by the peculiarly Bahian political rivalries between FETRAF and FETAG-BA and also those between the PT and the smaller PCdoB.¹³³

Union activists interviewed described the FETRAF affiliated rural unions as rights-based movements which made demands on the state to provide universal rights, becoming effective through formation of horizontal links between communities and municipalities and through participation in a broader national coalition:

*The Mutuípe union was present at key events during the 90s; Grito Da Terra, 95 / 96; Negotiations about PRONAF, and "we participated directly in meetings to pressurize the Minister [for Social Development] in Brasilia to sign the legislation for Previdência Social [social insurance]. This included women's rights to pensions and maternity leave... before that, only men could be paid rural pensions".*¹³⁴

The local FETRAF affiliated unions in the Jiquiriçá valley and neighbouring Recôncavo region created a regional union organisation, the *Polo Sindical* of Amargosa (taking its name and territorial jurisdiction from the Diocese of Amargosa, despite the fact that the Amargosa municipality rural union was affiliated to FETAG-BA) as an organising base supported by the FETRAF national federation.

*The unions emerged separately seeking to acquire rights, then grew and felt the need to unite through the Polo Sindical. (Maria Lourenca, Laje)*¹³⁵

*The unions agglomerated; we began coordinating in 1989 and we had the courage to form a "Polo" (regional union centre) covering 13 Municipalities established in 1998. (Erasmio Santos, Mutuípe)*¹³⁶

¹³³ Nationally, political rivalries between CUT and CONTAG have been largely superseded, and the two confederations now tend to act together. However regional and local divergences between their two rival affiliated rural union federations persist, particularly in Bahia, where FETAG has maintained its allegiance to the PCdoB.

¹³⁴ Interview with Erasmio Santos and other FETRAF rural union activists, 5 August 2009.

¹³⁵ Interviewed during a group discussion held in Laje on 21 March 2009

¹³⁶ Interviewed with other FETRAF rural union activists, 5 August 2009.

As a result of the formation of the *Polo Sindical* by the FETRAF affiliated unions in the valley severed formal links with by the regional headquarters maintained by FETAG-BA, the *Polo Sindical de Santo Antonio de Jesus* in Recôncavo region to the east of the valley, to which a number of other municipal unions in the North of the valley still remain affiliated. Municipal unions in the Western and Southern portions of the valley are affiliated to another FETAG-BA regional headquarters, the *Polo Sindical de Jequié*. FETRAF's split with FETAG in Bahia was eventually formalised in 2010 and the designation of the local FETRAF-affiliated unions were formally changed from STR to SINTRAF (*Sindicato de Trabalhadores de Agricultura Familiar* or Family Farmers and Rural Workers Union).

Table 6.2 Alignment of FETRAF and FETAG affiliated unions with municipalities in the Jiquiriçá Valley, national union confederations and political parties

Local rural unions	Jiquiriçá valley municipalities covered	State and national level rural union federations	Political affiliation of State Federations	National Trade Union Confederations
SINTRAF (new denomination from 2010, formerly STR)	Laje, Mutuipe, Jiquirica, Ubaira, S.Miguel das Matas, S.Ines, Cravolandia	FETRAF (formed in 2001, local unions affiliated from 2004; formally separated from FETAG in 2010)	PT – Workers Party	CUT
STR	Amargosa, Elisio Medrado, Brejoes, Milagres, Irajuba, Nova Itarana, Itaquara, Jaguaquara, Itirucu, Maracas, Lajedo de Tabocal, Planaltino, Lafayette Coutinho,	FETAG-BA,	PCdoB – Communist Party of Brazil	CONTAG

The effects of the social mobilisation process facilitated by the Catholic Church in the eastern Jiquiriçá valley during the early 1980s are clearly discernible today in the adjacent municipalities investigated where the FETRAF- affiliated unions are active. In various ways, the unions have contributed to increasing the scale, pace and effectiveness of implementation of progressive Federal policies first introduced in the 1990s after the end of the dictatorship and later expanded by the Lula government in response to the demands of workers and social movements nationwide. Most notably these include payment of farm workers' pensions, credit provision for small-scale farmers and more recently welfare payments to poor families through the national *Bolsa Familia* programme. The unions and the broader associated social coalition have continued to support farmers' and rural community associations, elected active

members to municipal assemblies and development councils and local politics, trained young community leaders in addition to providing the driving force in the incipient territorial development process promoted by Federal and State government.

The relations between the rural union movement, the broader social coalition in the eastern Jiquiriçá valley and territorial collegiate forum can be represented in a Venn Diagram:

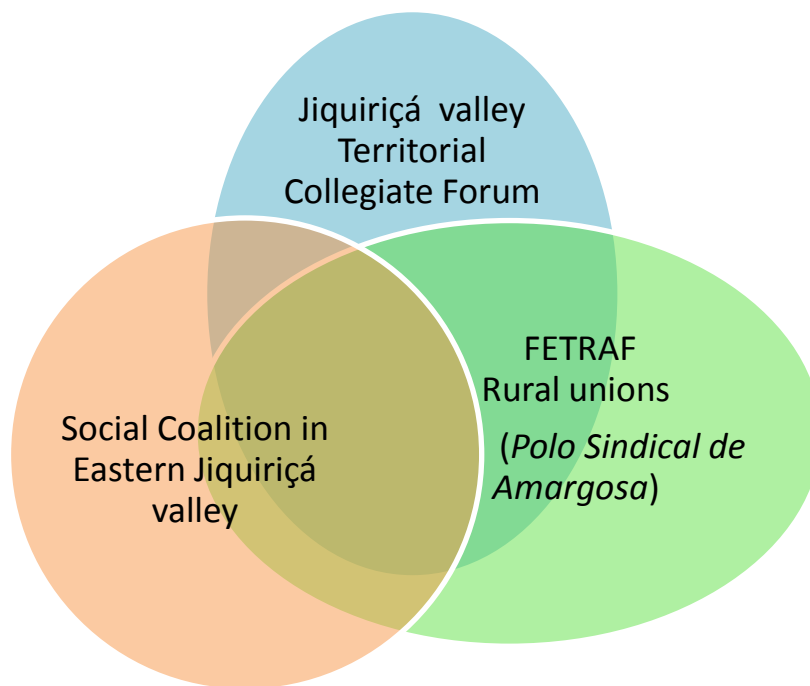


Fig. 6.1 Overlapping relationships between the FETRAF-affiliated rural unions, Territorial collegiate Forum for the Jiquiriçá valley, and the social coalition in the eastern valley.

As illustrated in the diagram, the three entities intersect closely. The FETRAF-affiliated rural unions are the dominant actors in the collegiate forum, although their regional presence also extends to neighbouring municipalities outside the valley, and each municipal union is linked to the *Polo Sindical de Amargosa*. Some of the municipal unions, even within the valley are not significantly engaged in the Forum, and the Forum itself extends to the west and north of the valley beyond FETRAF area of influence. In those parts of the valley the rural unions are affiliated to the rival union Federation FETAG, and were found not to be significant players in the Collegiate Forum, although some did participate. The FETRAF-affiliated unions are central actors in the broader coalition that has emerged in the eastern valley around Mutuípe,

although this also includes other non-union actors, principally from municipal and state government, some of whom are also engaged in the territorial collegiate forum.

Until recently, the unions themselves have adopted a primarily social, rights-based agenda. According to João do Vale, a leading union activist, councillor and former president of the local union in Ubaíra “*Their mission is to organise the workers to guarantee their rights*”. By virtue of social mobilization and direct links to the governing Workers Party the unions have elected local councillors at municipal level and simultaneously made successful demands on state government, processes which have hastened the delivery of basic services including energy, water, sanitation, health care and housing to rural areas, alongside the unions’ traditional role of facilitating access to rural pensions.

However despite having political weight and negotiating capacity, in the economic field the unions’ role has been limited, as confirmed by local participants and informants¹³⁷:

“The unions are not well trained, without technologies and technical support to help them, or qualifications” (Igor Leal, Secretary for Agriculture, Jiquiriçá municipality)

The principal limitation is in the area of marketing, adding value to local production and agro processing, people don’t have training in these areas (Edivaldo Jesus Leal, President of the Jiquiriçá municipal family farmers union and member of the coordinating group of the territorial *Colegiado*).

The unions have a political role, but they don’t have a role in dynamising the rural economy, because they don’t have technical support (Washington Luis Almeida, small farmer and President of the Beekeepers Association of Santa Inês.)

Recently the unions’ demands have broadened to promote productive inclusion and small farmers’ engagement in economic development. This has resulted from alliance of the FETRAF-affiliated rural unions with other actors, including municipal government in Mutuípe, the NGO FASE, and with state agencies active in the forest belt of the valley, which has in turn facilitated indirect partnerships with other partners in Federal and State government and access to resources for development projects. The unions became involved

¹³⁷ These quotations are derived from a supplementary set of interviews with local informants undertaken by Rimisp seeking to deepen understanding of the nature of the social movement and coalition in the Jiquiriçá, a short term study undertaken in October 2011 for which I assisted in identifying respondents, field research assistance and preparation of interview schedules. I am grateful to the Rimisp researcher Francisca Meynard for sharing interview transcripts and findings. See Meynard (2012) for a full report on the findings of this study.

in negotiating and facilitating access to PRONAF, the national family farmer credit programme, and subsequently via FETRAF developed projects to support family farming and rural housing in collaboration with FASE, and *Petrobras* (the national oil company). They have become active proponents of municipal food acquisition projects and a key partner in Mutuípe's successful, Bank of Brazil funded rural development programme, DRS (*Desenvolvimento Regional Sustentável*) discussed later in this chapter.

The local process of union mobilisation and coalition formation in the valley's forest zone has been linked to broader national changes bringing progressive governments to power in the last fifteen years. Despite little direct influence over Federal policies, the church's role locally in founding the rural unions, and bringing different social groups together, has been a key factor in improving family farmer's and rural workers material conditions, in a context of broader social and economic change. State policies and programmes targeting small and medium-scale farmers and the rural and urban poor as a whole were expanded, and local social mobilisation by the rural unions and the alliances they forged with other actors enables small-scale farming households and communities to have better access to these policies and programmes and to influence how they are applied locally. The other major factor driving improved social conditions and economic opportunities for small farmers in the western part of the Jiquiriçá valley was the spread of cocoa and the wider prosperity this brought, as a result of increases in farm income and employment and the linkages between cocoa production and trade with the development of urban commerce (as discussed in Ch5 on agriculture, markets and economic development).

These changes have led to the gradual emergence of a new urban-rural middle class in the forest zone of the valley. The family farmers' unions became a dominant social force, engaging both poorer and more successful small farmers, linked through kinship and church networks to growing numbers of small-scale urban traders, public sector workers and professionals settling in the valley's towns. Although the larger traders and farmers were descendants of larger land owning, conservative families, generally retaining conservative political and social affiliations, others were part of the union movement, linked politically to the Workers Party, and embraced a new social and political agenda. In Mutuípe, the centre of social mobilisation by the Catholic Church, and also the centre for the local cocoa trade, the emergence of and political mobilisation by the new rural union-based social coalition led to the election in 2000 of one of the first Workers Party Municipal administrations in Bahia,

which gained successive mandates in the municipal elections of 2004, 2008 and most recently in October 2012¹³⁸.

The social coalition of rural unions, community associations and allies in local government and civil society has impacted on the development dynamics of the eastern Jiquiriçá valley through its capacity to attract state policies and investments and give greater visibility to family farming, leading to greater economic diversification of family farming, stronger social organisation, and political influence (Quan *et al.* 2011, Meynard 2012). This has occurred in a number of interrelated ways.

- a) Basic education and political training of local union leaders and activists and subsequent election and nomination of their allies to public positions at municipal and state levels has brought about greater political influence of family farmers, and an improved balance of power locally (formerly centred on powerful landowning families) and also influencing development of state policies and programmes.
- b) The union's primary role has been to facilitate small farmers, agricultural workers and the families to access social rights and economic assistance provided by government programmes, by assisting them to obtain the necessary identify cards, and providing practical guidance and assistance in dealing with government bureaucracies. The initial focus was in assisting access to pensions, but assistance now extends to assistance with access to *bolsa familia* payments, other social welfare benefits, family farmers credit through PRONAF, other more specialised credit programmes, and banking services.
- c) Stimulating community organisation and expanding union membership at community level has facilitated access to development programmes such as PRONAF and participation in economic development projects such as public food acquisition, also contributing directly to women's social and economic empowerment at community level.
- d) Promotion of and engagement in local economic and community development initiatives in the municipalities in which the coalition and the FETRAF affiliated

¹³⁸ At municipal elections held in November 2012 The Workers Party also gained control of neighbouring municipalities of Laje and Ubaíra. Like Mutuípe these are both locations where the FETRAF affiliated rural unions are active and where family farming has to some degree prospered due to the spread of cocoa and increasing returns to other cash crops.

unions are active in projects linked to municipal government, notably in Mutuípe where the PT-led municipal government is itself an active part of the coalition.

- e) As the principle actors involved in development of the collegiate territorial forum for the whole of the Jiquiriçá valley, the unions and their collaborators aim to stimulate more participatory democracy at a cross-municipal scale under Federal and State government's territorial development policies, also facilitating consultations at municipal and territorial levels on new Federal and State Government policies, programmes and investments.

6.5 Network organisations in the Jiquiriçá valley

Throughout Brazil there have been a multitude of distinct, parallel territorial development programmes and network initiatives sponsored by different branches and levels of government (Favareto 2009, 2006) in addition to those emerging from civil society. The Jiquiriçá valley is no exception, although the territorial collegiate forum, established under policies adopted by the Federal Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) and Bahia's state government has sought to play a leading role in territorial development, and this provides a central focus for the network analysis reported in this chapter.

The key informant interviews conducted during the first stage of research provided information on the type of network collaboration in which actors have been engaged and enabled identification of the various network organisations and cross – municipal initiatives present in the valley, their principle actors and geographic scope. At the advent of the territorial development collegiate forum a number of pre-existing network organisations had been established under policies which fostered parallel territorial initiatives led by different sectors of government and municipal level actors with differing geographic scope, whose activities were noted by informants during the first stage of field research. In addition to the collegiate territorial forum, these included:

- An inter-municipal consortium (CIVJ or *Comissão Intermunicipal do Vale de Jiquiriçá*) instigated by the traditional elite of Mutuípe and allied conservative prefects which aimed to protect the river and improve management of water resources, which operated 1993 – 2003, albeit with limited results. CIVJ was formally established as an NGO, for lack of existence of an alternative formal

institutional status for an inter-municipal body. CIVJ succeeded a pre-existing environmental network CODEVAJ (*Comissão da Defesa do Vale de Jiquiriçá* - commission for the defence of the Jiquiriçá Valley)) which subsequently also give rise to other environmental initiatives, in the valley notably the NGO *Centro Sapucaia* and the *Base Ambiental* established in Amargosa with Federal funding support for purposes of environmental monitoring and enforcement;

- a short-lived inter-municipal council (CONSAD) to strengthen Food Security involving a group of 12 municipalities including some outside the territory;
- the regional organisations of the two politically rival rural union Federations, FETRAF and FETAG, with affiliated local unions in different groups of municipalities, organised around regional hubs also covering neighbouring municipalities in different regions outside of the valley; and
- SINDIVALE, a recently created public sector workers' union of the Jiquiriçá valley

As the research proceeded, other network organisations were instigated:

- MERCOVALE, a re-vamped informal inter-municipal consortium for the valley also open to neighbouring municipalities, initiated as an informal association of prefects under the umbrella of the NGO established by CIVJ, and subsequently established formally under recent state legislation as a public consortium;
- A river basin management sub-committee for the Jiquiriçá valley, established in 2010 under state environmental legislation as part of a broader River Basin Management Committee for the Recôncavo-Sul region, spanning three adjacent smaller river basins.

Table 6.3, overleaf, summarises the principal governmental network organisations operational in the Jiquiriçá valley during the field research, their official sponsors and their geographic scope. For comparison the principle civil society network organisations are also included.

The proliferation of territorial network bodies results in overlapping sets of collective actors, and a situation in which there are no definitive institutional arrangements for territorial management and planning amongst the different bodies established by government. This involves dispersal of effort, as many of the same organisations and individuals are involved

in the different network organisations, and some public confusion about which bodies are responsible for what, and how they are supposed to relate to one another.

Table 6.3 Territorial network organisations in the Jiquiriçá valley (source: author's compilation based on information gathered during research)

Network organisations	Geographic scope	Proponents and sponsors
Federal and State Government initiatives		
Territorial Development Collegiate Forum	20 Municipalities of the middle/ upper Jiquiriçá Valley	MDA, Bahia State Government Development
CONSAD – Council for Food Security and Development	9 municipalities – Jiquiriçá Valley and neighbouring regions	Ministry of Social Development
River Basin Management Committee	Assemblage of river basins passing through southern Recôncavo region – sub-committee for whole Jiquiriçá valley	SEMA, IMA - State Government Secretariat and Institute for Environment
Local government initiatives		
MERCOVALE: Public consortium	Whole Jiquiriçá valley but open to neighbouring regions	Municipal Prefects, led by Planaltino
CIVJ Inter-municipal consortium) focused on environmental management (now extinct)	All municipalities in Jiquiriçá valley including lower / coastal portions	Municipal Prefects, led by prominent relatives of a former conservative Prefect of Mutuípe
Civil society – farmers and workers unions		
SINTRAF (Family Farmers workers' union) Family farmers): Polo Sindical de Amargosa	Amargosa diocese – 7 municipalities in eastern Jiquiriçá valley and others in neighbouring territories	Affiliated to CUT (the main National Trade Union Federation) and to the PT (Workers Party)
FETAG-BA (Bahia Federation of Agricultural Workers): Polo Sindical de Jequié	Various municipalities in centre north and west of the valley; and others to the west and south	Affiliated to CONTAG (National Confederation of Agricultural Workers' unions) and to The Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB)
SINDIVALE Public Sector Workers Union	Municipalities of central and upper valley but not present in all.	Affiliated to CUT and PT

In 2007 Bahia's State Secretariat for Planning (SEPLAN) has adopted the *Territórios de Identidade* as the main reference points for a state-wide participatory budget and planning process. An important perspective developed within Federal Government during the two successive mandates of Lula's PT administration was that all sectors, in all states, should increasingly focus on these same territories as planning units. In practice, however few

sectors of Bahia's state government have done so, and a number continue to use pre-existing administrative regions, or other spatial divisions they have devised for their own purposes. Although the State Planning Secretariat (SEPLAN) has planned to support both the *Colegiado* and the formalisation of MERCOVALE as a formal inter-municipal Public Consortium, there has been no attempt to link the two processes. State government has also been unable to link rural with urban territorial policy, which focuses on strengthening complementarity between cities and their regions of influence¹³⁹, which do not correspond with rural territorial divisions.

6.6 Social Network Analysis of collaborative actor networks

In the second stage of the field research, a more systematic study of collaborative actor networks in the valley was undertaken to examine participation of different actors in the collegiate territorial forum or *Território de Identidade*, and to shed light on the type of informal collaborative networks present within and across the five adjacent municipalities of Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Santa Ines and Cravolândia selected for more in-depth investigation¹⁴⁰. The investigation experimented with the use of formal social network analysis (SNA) techniques in gaining a better understanding of the new social coalition that emerged from Mutuípe, its social and geographical scope, and its role in relation to other territorial networks and initiatives, in order to identify whether or not it was contributing in practice to formation of a broader social coalition and to institutional changes within the Jiquiriçá Valley as a whole.

The network study involved two principal components for which the detailed results are reported below in sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.2:

- a) analysis of participation in meetings of different types of actors from the various municipalities in the Collegiate territorial forum in 2009-10, and the familiarity and contact networks established amongst different categories of actors.

¹³⁹ SEDUR's Territorial Planning and Management policy
<http://www.sedur.ba.gov.br/desenvolvimento.urbano.htm> accessed 1 October 2010

¹⁴⁰ As described in Chapter Four, these municipalities were selected as broadly representative of the different agro-ecological conditions and patterns of land holding in the valley, while also providing sufficient depth to understand the specific combination of factors leading to a virtuous cycle of development in the valley's western forest zone where small-scale farming and the activities of the FETRAF associated rural unions are concentrated.

- b) analysis of networks and collaborative relations amongst a purposive sample of 30 informants from civil society, local government, state agencies and private sector in the five adjacent focus. A purpose designed questionnaire was used to generate data on network relations amongst the sample, as a basis for social network analysis, and semi-structured interviews were also held with the same set of respondents. This component generated data on actors' perceptions of development changes and outcomes, the role and nature of the social movements, quality of municipal administration, and the impacts of cross municipal initiatives taken by government and other actors.

The network analysis, together with an assessment of productive and institutional innovations in the valley and their origins (discussed in section 6.7 of this chapter), provided a basis for critical assessment of the Jiquiriçá Valley *Território de Identidade* and its role and effectiveness in organising cross-municipal initiatives in practice, and in contributing to institutional changes favouring inclusive economic development. This assessment and its implications for territorial development policy are discussed in Chapter Seven.

6.6.1 Participation in the territorial development collegiate forum

The first component of the network study assessed frequency of participation by representatives of local government and civil society representatives from different municipalities in the valley, alongside other actors, in six meetings of the territorial Collegiate Forum during 2009-10 and developed a simple social network analysis. The use of SNA techniques, as opposed to a simple frequency analysis, enabled visual representation of the network established as a result of the regularity of contacts between different actors established as a result of participation of different pairs and groupings in the same meetings.

Participation lists in a series of six meetings of the collegiate forum were analysed to determine which Municipalities were represented by civil society organisations, local government and / or local community-based organisations at each meeting, and which state agencies and other organisations (such as educational institutions or external NGOs) also participated. Co-presence at a meeting of actors from each group and location was considered to constitute a network link, and the frequency of linkages between different pairs of actors were mapped using SNA software to form a picture of the overall strength of contacts and linkages built up amongst them, though participation in the meetings.

The analysis of different organisations' participation showed that during 2009 – 2010 engagement with the territorial collegiate forum by both local government and civil society was largely confined to a small group of contiguous municipalities in the eastern part of the valley coinciding with the area of influence of FETRAF. On the whole the most regular participants were FETRAF-affiliated local unions. Participation by local government representatives from the different municipalities was self-selecting and generally low. Some municipalities and state agencies participated infrequently; others were not present at all. Discussions held with local government representatives at meeting suggested that on the whole, municipalities' participation was the result of interest and commitment of individuals working as municipal public servants, rather than on political support for the *Colegiado* by ruling groups, although authorisation by municipal Prefects was required for a local government officer to join a meeting. Participation was strongly influenced by distance and location, particularly for community level organisations, which tended to be present only when meetings were held locally, which can reasonably be expected to be due to a combination of lack of information about or interest in meetings taking place elsewhere, or lack of resources to travel to them, as all participants had to resource and arrange their own transport.

The network map diagrams Fig. 6N1.1 to Fig. 6N1.6¹⁴¹ on the following pages illustrate the frequency of contacts established amongst participating organisations amongst different types of actors from different municipalities in the series of six collegiate forum meetings in 2009 and 2010¹⁴². The diagrams use a colour code for different types of actors: municipal governments are indicated in blue; civil society organisations (in all cases the local rural unions) in green; Federal and State Government agencies in red; community-based organisations in yellow; and educational and training organisations and external NGOs in orange. Each actor is also labelled on the diagrams with its name (or abbreviated name) and a coded suffix to indicate the category: *_PP* indicates *poder publico* (“public power” or government authority) a common term for local government in Brazil; *_SC* indicates *sociedade civil* (civil society); and *_COMM* indicates a community-based organisation.

¹⁴¹ For ease of reference the network diagrams are placed two to a page, wherever possible facing the relevant discussion in the text. A separate numbering system is used for the network diagrams to distinguish them from the other figures that appear in the text: where 6 indicates the chapter number, N1 represents the first network analysis exercise and N2 the second network analysis exercise; for each exercise the diagrams are then numbered sequentially.

¹⁴² The diagrams were constructed using UCINET software, after inputting the data on participation in collegiate forum meetings into a purpose-designed spread sheet.

Where a government or other agency present has a particular location, this is also shown in the suffix to its name.

The first diagram identifies the contacts established amongst those who participated in at least one meeting, the second shows contacts amongst participants in two or more meetings, the third for three or more meetings, and so on until the last diagram which shows the links between organisations represented at all six meetings. When any pair of actors made contact by being at the same meeting the software generates an unbroken line between points connecting the actors. When actors met more frequently than the threshold criteria for each diagram, additional connections are generated, shown as adjacent lines, making the lines for frequent connections appear darker or thicker. The locations on the diagrams do not indicate physical locations; but organisations more central to the network by way of more frequent participation tend to appear at central points, and in the earlier diagrams, with more network linkages to others. Actors that participated in fewer meetings are more peripheral to the network and appear nearer the outer edges of the diagram, with those that did not send representatives to the threshold number of meetings appearing in the top left of each diagram, unconnected to others. As shown in the first diagram (6N1.1), local government or civil society representatives from some municipalities did not attend any of the meetings and are considered to have no network connections with the other actors for purposes of this exercise. In the second diagram (6N1.2) the density of network links is further reduced as a number of other actors did not participate in more than one meeting and are shown in the diagram in their original positions without lines connecting them to those actors who did participate in at least two of the meetings

Fig. 6N1.1 Participation in at least one meeting of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial collegiate forum in 2009-10

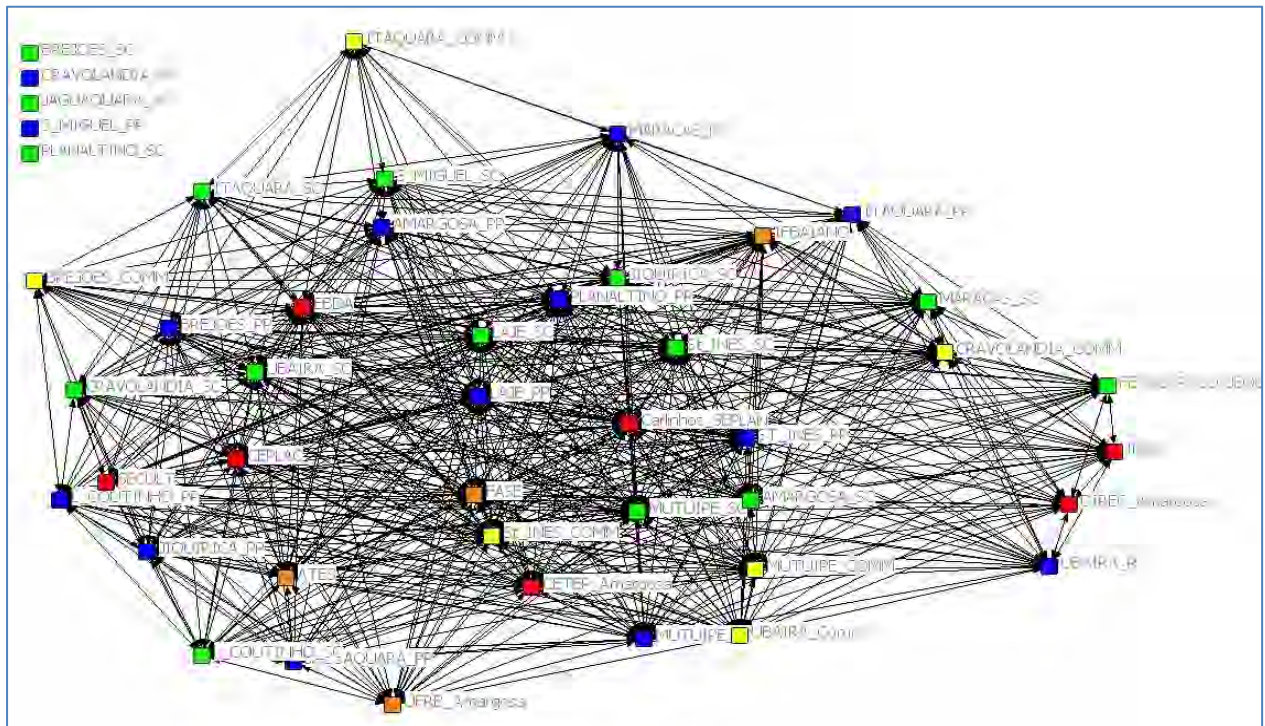


Fig. 6N1.2 Participation in two or more meetings of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial collegiate forum in 2009-10

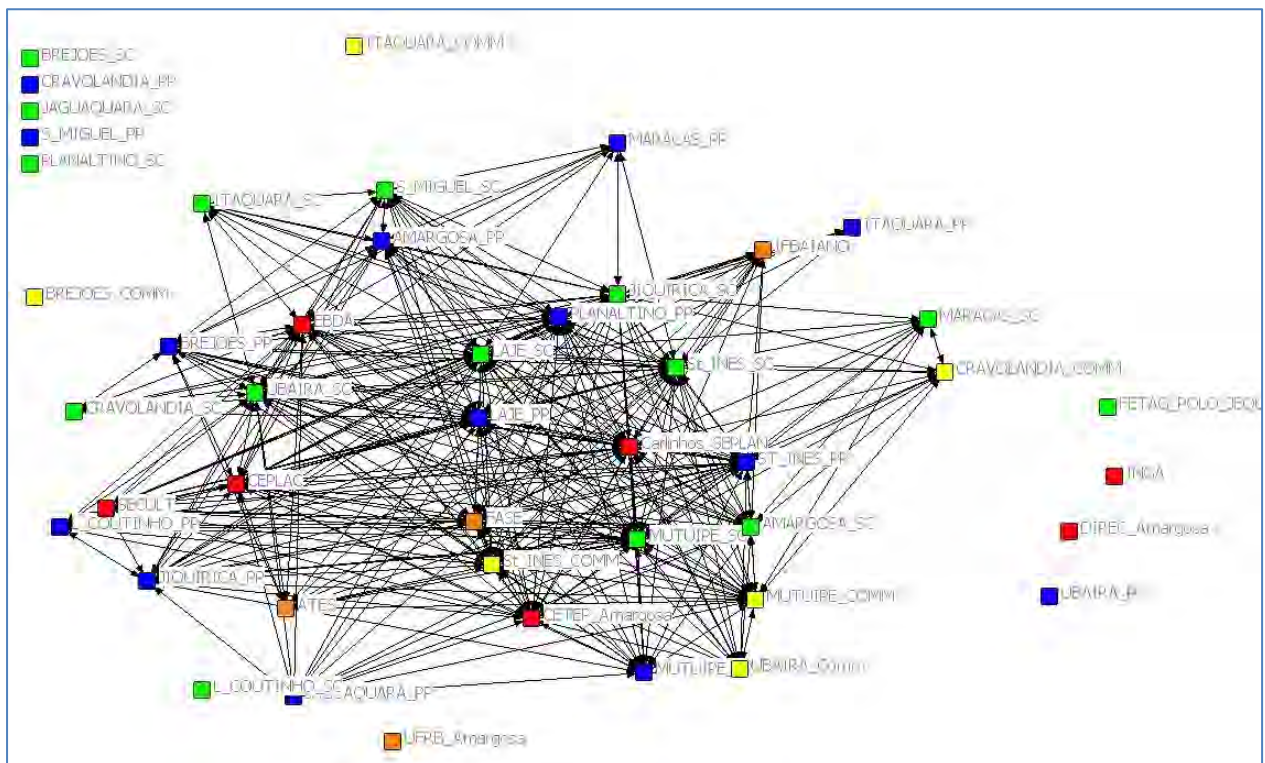


Fig. 6N1.3 Participation in three or more meetings of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial collegiate forum in 2009-10

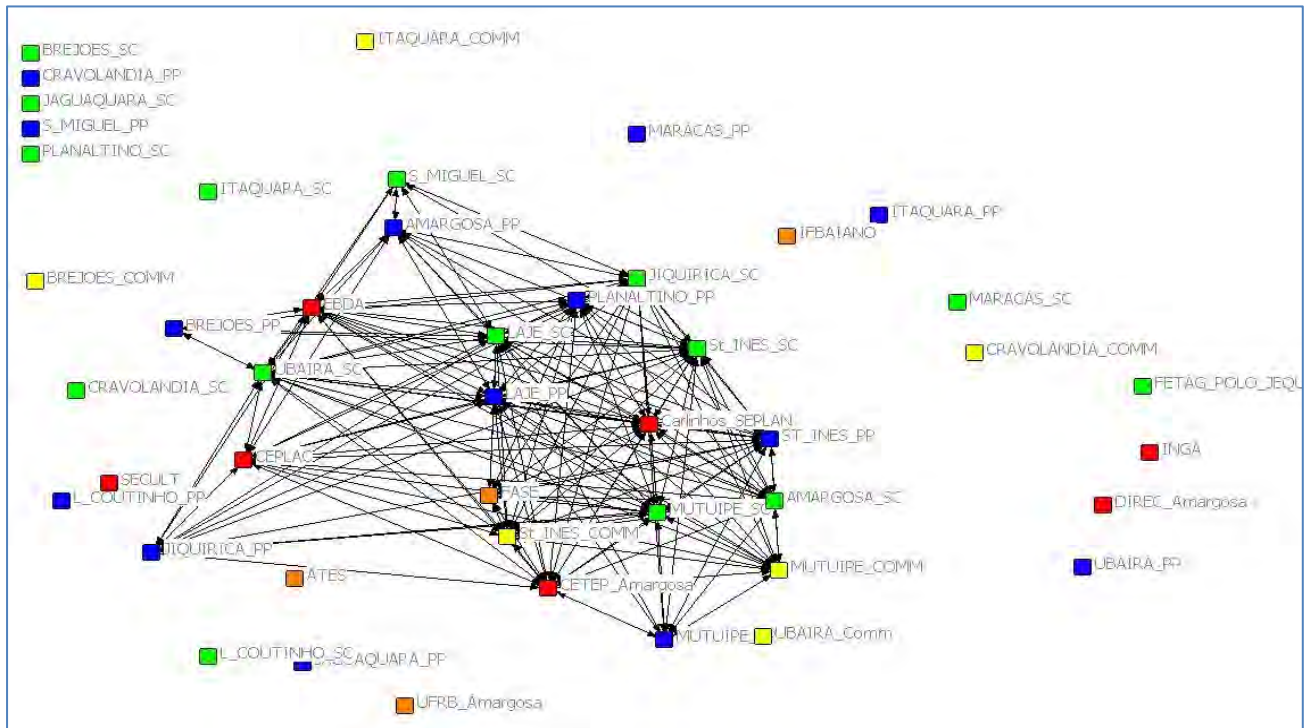
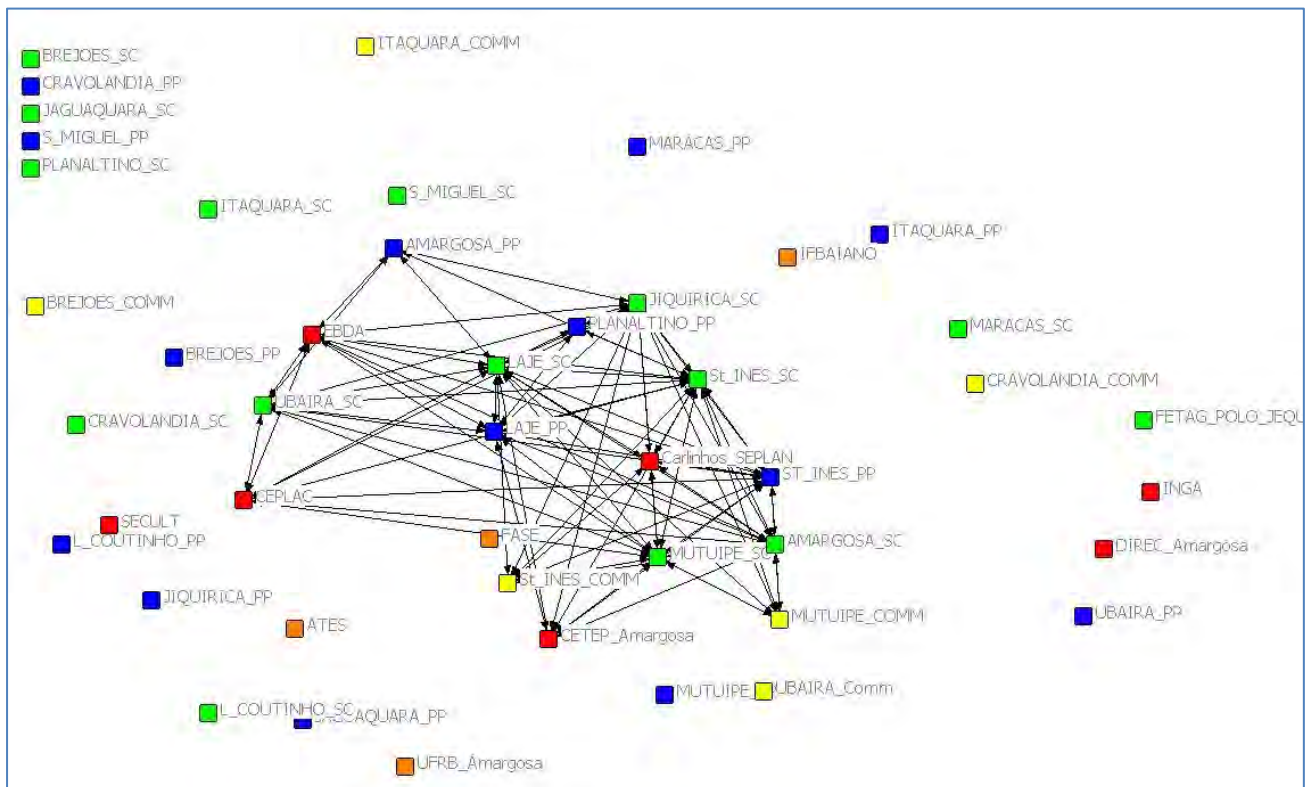


Fig. 6N1.4 Participation in four or more meetings of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial collegiate forum in 2009-10



In Figures 6N1.3 and 6N1.4, the centrality of certain players to the network is more evident. These players included groups of rural unions and local government representatives, and state government actors, and the NGO, FASE which was actively engaged in supporting the FETRAF rural union federation in the region, and the only (informal) source of external technical support to the *Colegiado*. Apart from FASE, based in Salvador, all of these more active players in the network are located in the eastern forest belt or in the more easterly part of the central transitional region of the Jiquiriçá valley. All but two of the six meetings were held in Mutuípe and Santa Ines in these locations, as a result of limitations in available facilities, but also because the most active players were clustered in these parts of the valley covering the municipalities of Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Laje and Amargosa. In Fig.6N1.4, the presence of a number of municipal government authorities and one local rural union has fallen away. The outliers that appear in these diagrams without connecting links were predominantly, but not exclusively, from more distant locations in the valley, although it is notable that a number of local authorities even from central and eastern part of the valley did not participate more than three or four times. This included one, Mutuípe, which was politically closely aligned to the rural union movement, although a senior political figure from Mutuípe did participate more often in a personal capacity. The only community groups that participated in three or more meetings were from Mutuípe and Santa Ines, the specific locations where most of the meetings were held. Location of meetings was a factor which tended to make the geographic bias in participation in the *Colegiado* self-reinforcing.

The group with most numerous frequent participants was civil society, represented by rural union delegates from Laje, Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Santa Ines, and an NGO delegate from Amargosa municipality, where the local rural union is affiliated to FETAG rather than FETRAF. In Figures 6N1.5 and 6N1.6, the specific actors most frequently represented in the network constituted by the territorial collegiate forum meetings are clearly evident: a small group of local rural unions, a few local authorities, EBDA (the state government agricultural extension agency) and a key state government actor, who at the time was former prefect of Mutuípe¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ Carlos da Silva Cardoso, known locally simply as “Carlinhos” was Prefect of Mutuípe from 2000-07, and subsequently re-elected in 2012. At the time of the field research he was employed by SEPLAN, Bahia’s State Secretariat for Planning, and remained active in regional and local affairs.

Fig. 6N1.5 Participation in five or more meetings of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial collegiate forum in 2009-10

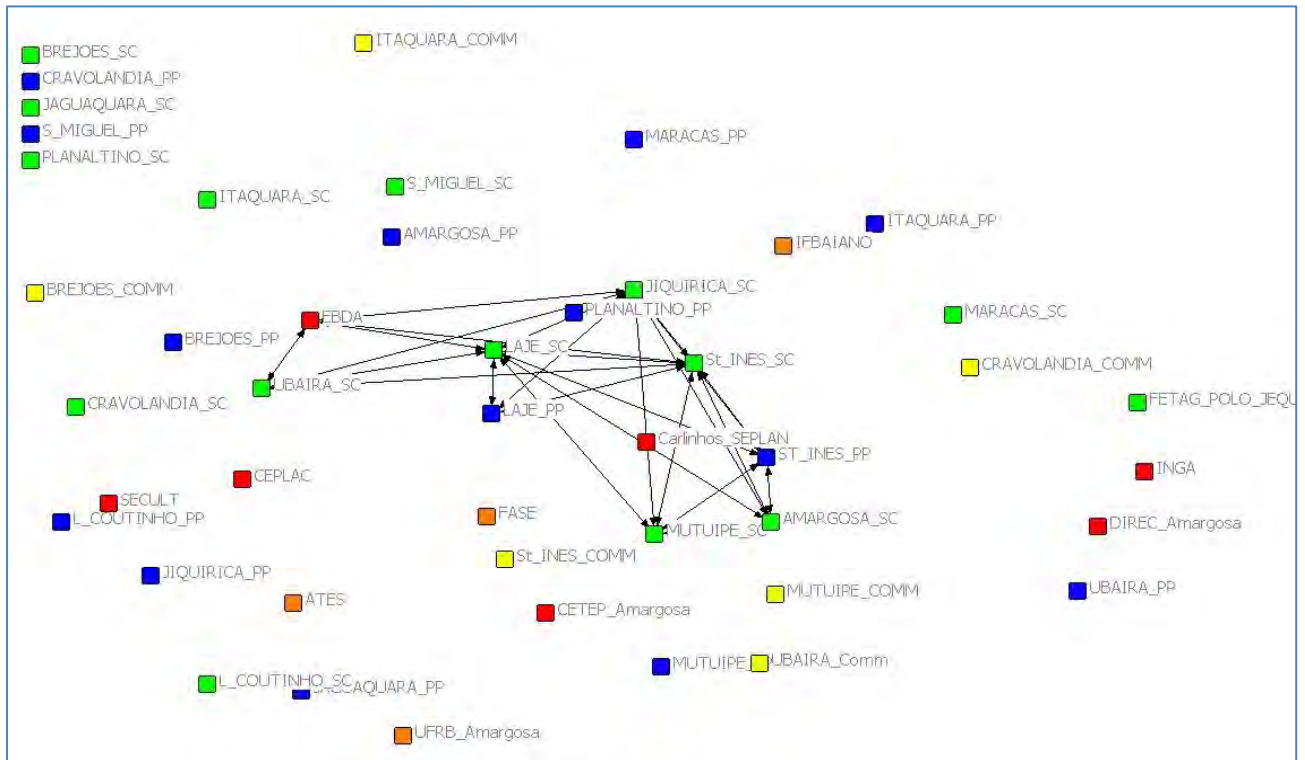
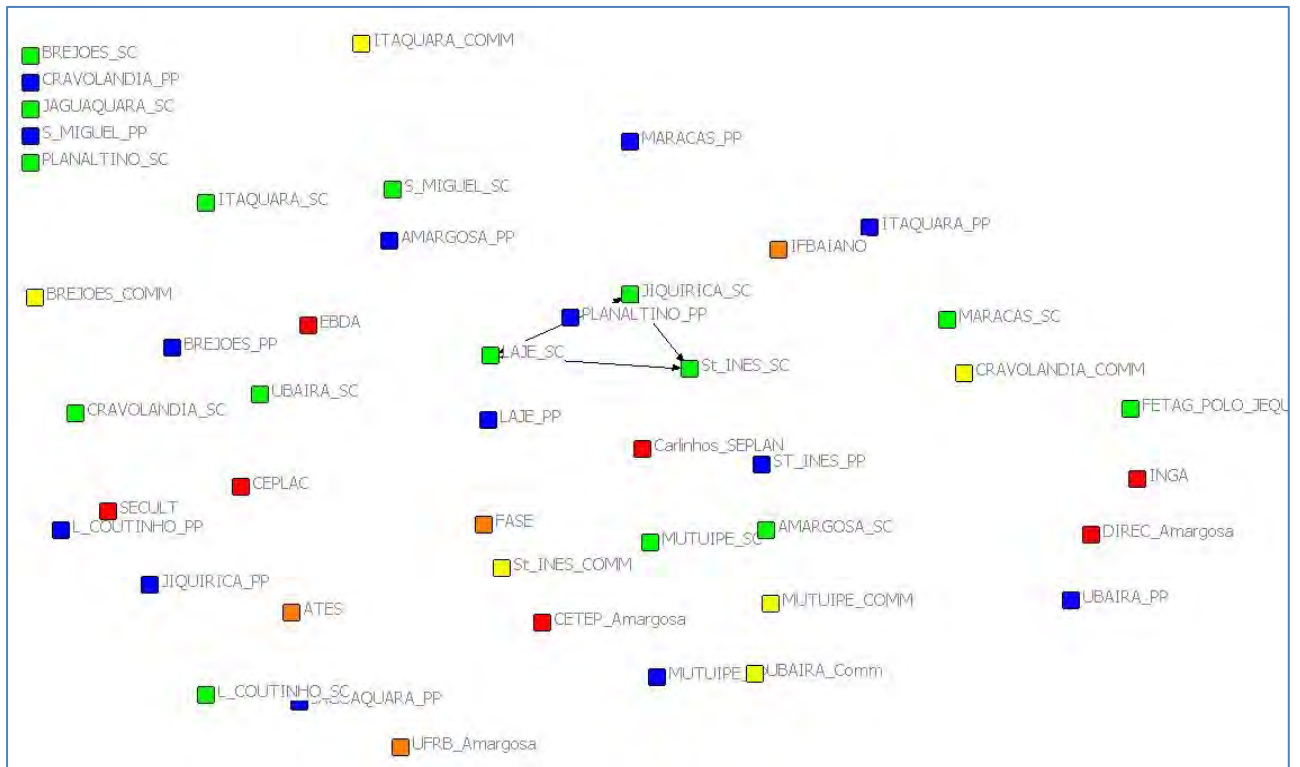


Fig. 6N1.6 Participation in six or more meetings of the Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial collegiate forum in 2009-10



It is worth noting the personal affiliations of those most closely involved. Those who participated in all six meetings formed a very small core group, comprising three rural union representatives and one municipal authority. Others who participated in most but not all meetings had other professional commitments that took priority and, arguably, those participating in all six meetings were representatives of organisations or individuals that had primary commitments to the *Colegiado*, and personal investments in it. The three union representatives who participated in all six meetings were the *Colegiado*'s facilitator (a rural union leader from Laje), and the Presidents of the local unions in Jiquiriçá and Santa Ines. These people were all members of the directorates of both the *Colegiado* and the FETRAF *Polo Sindical* (the regional coordination group for FETRAF affiliated unions, based in Mutuípe).

On the whole local government participates weakly in the territorial forum. The most frequent local government participants were personally affiliated to the progressive social coalition in the valley working for local authorities, who managed to obtain authorisation to participate in the meetings to represent the municipality. For example the representative of the then conservative controlled Laje Municipality was a Workers Party councillor and rural union activist; the representative from Santa Ines was an MST activist in the region and close collaborator of the rural unions who worked for the municipal social development secretariat, and despite her left wing political affiliation, maintained good professional relations with the political ruling group affiliated to the PMDB (Brazil Democratic Movement Party).

In conclusion, many organisations participated in some of the *Colegiado*'s meetings but very few in all of them during the 2009-10 period for which this data was collected. A clearly identifiable group participated in the majority of meetings. The largest group of frequent participants were FETRAF affiliated local union leaders, but a number of other civil society organisations, stage level actors and municipal governments also participated strongly. These groups was geographically concentrated within a specific group of contiguous municipalities which coincided closely with the region in which the Catholic Church promoted social mobilisation and community development during the military dictatorship, a process which led to the formation of the rural union movement in the Jiquiriçá valley.

However, around 50% of the intended participants in the *Colegiado* participated in less than 50% of the meetings, and a clearly identifiable group participated in no or very few meetings, opting out because they were a relatively low priority institutionally, or for reasons of physical and political distance. The peripheral actors and organisations are also geographically peripheral to the core group which led the forum and in practice came to dominate the *Colegiado*. Participation was strongly influenced by location of meetings, particularly for community-based organisations: attending a meeting in Mutuípe involved several hours travel and considerable (often non-reimbursable) personal expenses for people from the semi-arid western part of the valley.

The actors sustaining the initiative are municipal rural workers and family farmers unions from the five municipalities in which they are affiliated to FETRAF, the national union federation for family farmers. In addition representatives of four municipalities were active players, three of which (Jiquiriçá, Laje and Santa Ines) corresponded to those with some of the most active rural union delegates. One NGO, an environmental organisation from Amargosa, also played a central role, as did a handful of government agencies, notably CEPLAC and EBDA (which are both regional agricultural extension agencies), a technical training institute, and the State Secretariat for Culture, and the then former Prefect of Mutuípe.

Five other municipal authorities and four other rural unions (two of which were affiliated to FETAG, from Maracas and Amargosa) participated in two or more meetings. Educational institutions played a minor role, but one external NGO active in the region was actively engaged. Community organizations do not participate regularly, and most came to meetings only when the forum met in their own vicinities. As a result although the forum is intended to be open to community-based organisations, it cannot be considered to represent them directly. Nonetheless there were regularly small numbers of participants from community organisations.

The FETRAF-affiliated union movement which sustains the *Colegiado* operates in the western third of the valley's 21 municipalities and in adjacent municipalities in the Recôncavo region to the east. There is no parallel organisation operational elsewhere in the valley and the political split in the rural union movement between FETRAF and the rival FETAG union Federation allied with the PCdoB (Communist Party of Brazil) has

discouraged FETAG affiliated local rural unions in the west of the valley from participating in and supporting the work of the territorial forum. The work and management of the *Colegiado* and the *Polo Sindical* are intertwined and although the rural unions encourage broader participation, outsiders tend to see it as dominated by FETRAF.

6.6.2 Social networks amongst local actors

This second component of the network study focussed in on to a group of five continuous municipalities (Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Santa Ines and Cravolândia) where civil society and local government were actively engaged in the *Colegiado*. This was the same set of municipalities in which informal surveys of rural communities and urban traders reported in Chapter Five were conducted. It is broadly representative of the different agro-climatic regions of the valley and corresponds quite closely with that part of the valley in which FETRAF affiliated unions are active, which also extends further to the east including Laje and San Miguel das Matas municipalities as well as others in the neighbouring Recôncavo region, outside of the river basin and the Jiquiriçá Valley *Território de Identidade*.

This part of the study aimed to form a better picture of the collaborative relationships that existed at local levels or more broadly in the valley amongst development actors of different types in these five municipalities, including both those that were and others that were not engaged in the territorial forum, in an attempt to ascertain the breadth of the coalition of actors emerging in the east of the valley that appeared to correspond closely with the forum's membership. For this component, a purposive sample of 30 respondents distributed amongst the five municipalities was constructed. This included a group of union and civil society delegates active in the *Colegiado*, local government representatives and prominent private sector business people from each of the five municipalities, and actors from state and federal government agencies (including development banks, rural extension agencies and higher education bodies) present in the region. The private sector actors were deliberately included as they were not involved in the territorial forum and it was important to ascertain whether or not they had active collaborative relationships with those actors that were involved or with any others locally at municipal level or more broadly within the valley. In addition one respondent who was not from any of the five focus municipalities was deliberately included. This was the Prefect of Planaltino municipality, also President of the inter-municipal consortium of Prefects, MERCOVALE, who was included in order to test the strength and

nature of linkages between him and other actors. Respondents were asked to characterise the nature and strength of their relationships with each other respondent in the sample, and then gave their views on social and collaborative networks organisations in the Jiquiriçá valley, development challenges facing the territory and the role of network organisations, in semi-structured interviews.

For the network analysis, respondents were asked both if they were acquainted with each one of the other members of the sample, and if they maintained any sort of collaborative relationship with them. They were asked to characterise their relationships as strong, regular or weak, and to explain whether or not the relationship was a mutual one, or if they felt it was characterised by a more one-way flow of advice, information, assistance or support of any kind.

The analysis of network relations in the sample of 30 local actors demonstrated extensive webs of acquaintance and familiarity across municipalities amongst public officials, union leaders and others: in effect, almost everybody knew everyone else, or at least knew who each other were, even if they were not directly acquainted. Professional, political and business relations were less extensive than acquaintance, however. For those not engaged in the territorial forum or other network organisations, including municipal officials and particularly private business people, collaborative networks were largely confined to their own municipalities and in some cases their counterparts in adjacent municipalities, or with external actors.

As with the analysis of participation in territorial forum meetings, a key feature was a strong collaborative network, involving the FETRAF-affiliated rural unions, their allies and sympathisers in municipal government, and state agencies. This dominant group in the *Colegiado* was found to have a number of parallel, self-reinforcing linkages, including shared political and religious affiliations, friendships and family networks, alongside professional collaboration. Members of this group revealed clearly in the interviews that they saw themselves to be part of a much broader social movement cemented by political affiliation to the governing Workers Party, espousing a socialist philosophy based on liberation theology, and originating in community development work by the Catholic Church with the rural poor during and after dictatorship. When asked about important external collaborators, a number of these informants pointed towards the same external collaborators from the Church and the

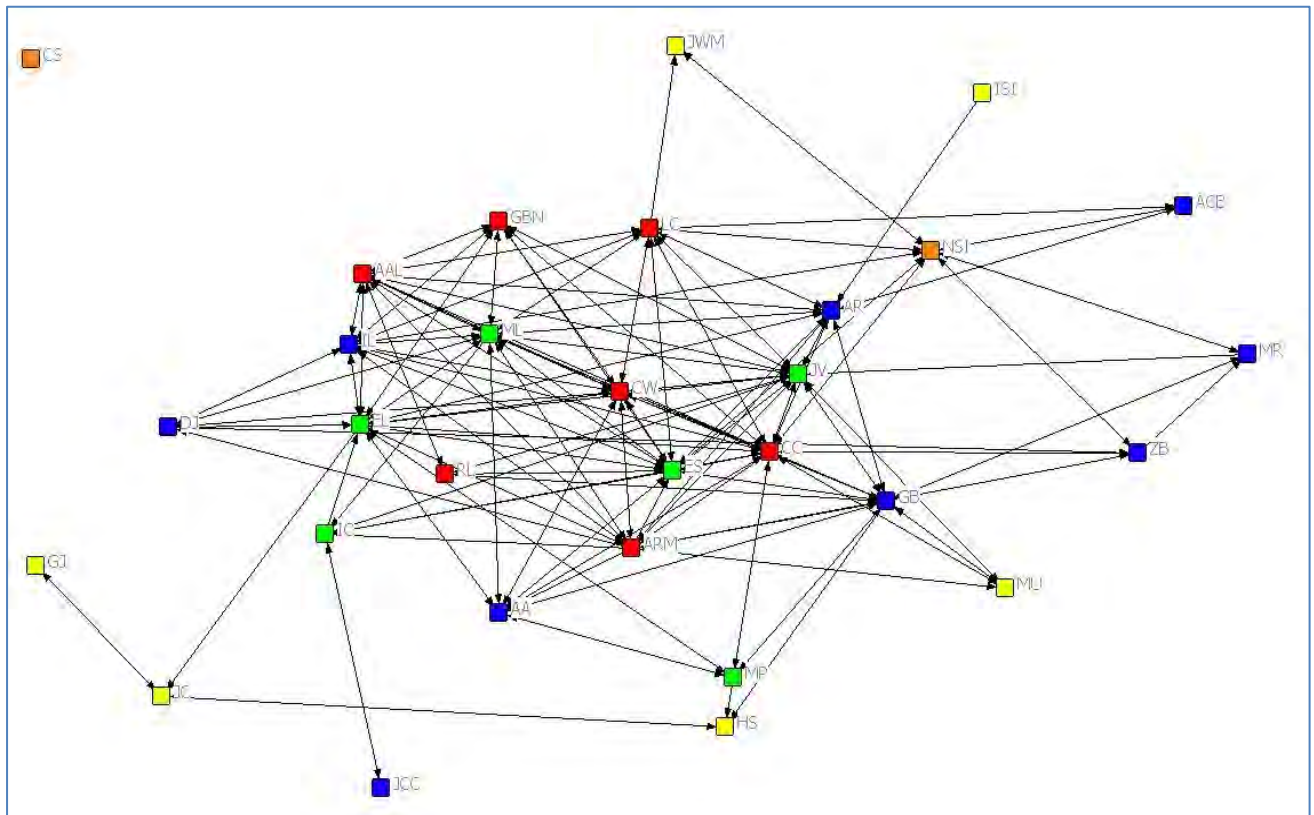
Workers Party in the wider region. A legacy of the social mobilisation and development work conducted by the Church is the presence of active local community and producer associations formed entirely independently of local government in Mutuípe and a number of neighbouring municipalities. Informants pointed out that this movement also included teachers and health workers organisations, public servants and a number of local NGOs, extending beyond the Jiquiriçá valley. While this coalition of actors has been central to implementation of agrarian policies and territorial organisation in the valley, its own cohesiveness and strong Workers Party political orientation provides some explanation of why the social and geographic coverage of the *Colegiado* is so limited in practice.

The network relations revealed by this investigation are represented in the series of network diagrams in Fig. 6N2.1 to Fig 6N2.3 that follow on the next three pages. In these diagrams the points representing particular respondents are labelled anonymously using initials; and a similar colour coding system is used to that in the previous set of network diagrams:

- Blue represents members or representatives of municipal authorities
- Green represents rural union activists or members of other civil society organisations within the Jiquiriçá Valley.
- Red represents people working professionally for state or federal government agencies.
- Orange represents educational institutions or external NGOs.
- Yellow represents private sector traders or business people.

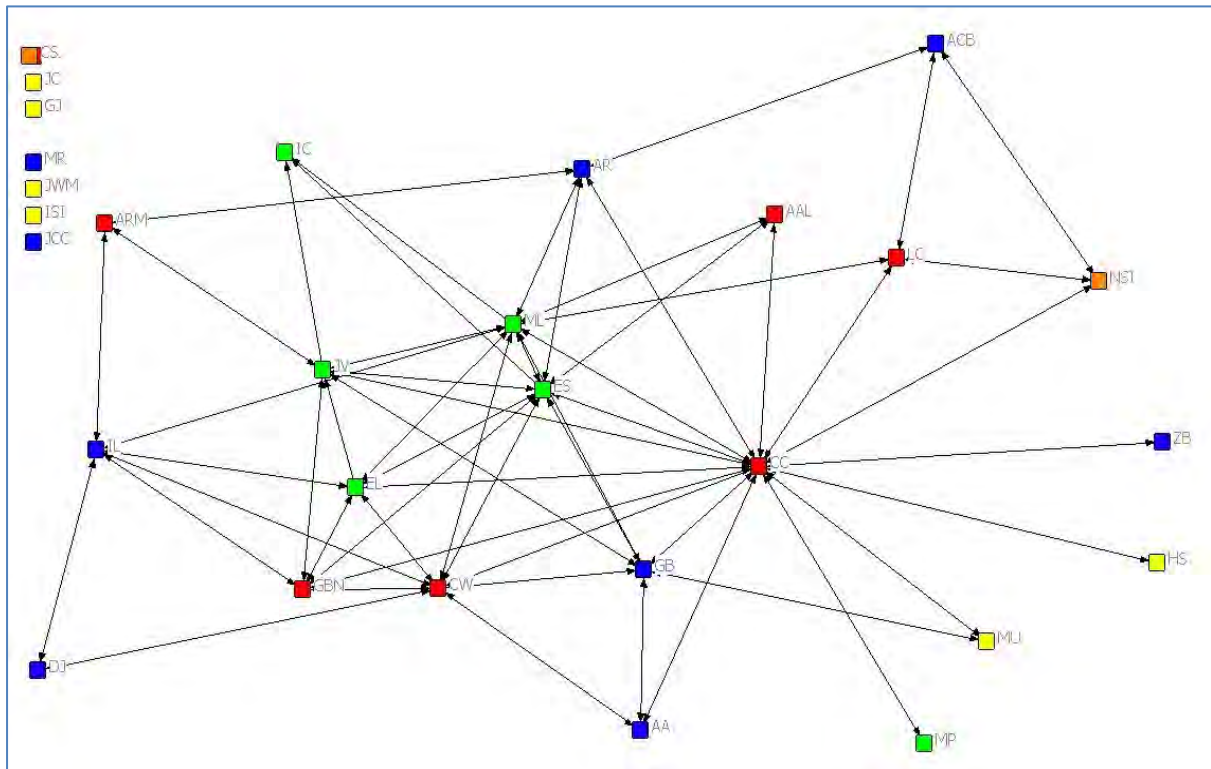
In the diagrams the weight attached by informants to the network relationships, as strong, medium or weak is not shown by connecting lines of different thicknesses, but separate network maps were constructed to show relationships characterised as strong-to-medium, and as strong. The direction of the relationships as indicated by the survey participants is represented by an arrow head, where one actor “receives” assistance or information from another, or sends it to another. Where arrowheads appear at both ends of a line, at least one of that pair of actors described the relationship as mutual. The directionality of these linkages was not subjected to any sort of systematic assessment however.

Fig. 6N2.2 Collaborative links characterised mutually as either regular or strong amongst the sample of 30 actors in the Jiquiriçá Valley (Actors without regular or strong links to others in the sample appear in the top left corner with no linking lines).



The web of collaborative relations characterised mutually as strong is significantly less dense than the network of actors who maintain weaker collaborative links. Eight members of the sample, notably the majority of the private business people, but also some others, did not have strong collaborative links with anyone else in the sample. State and civil society actors in general had strong collaborative links with one another across all five of the municipalities surveyed and these relations were generally described as mutual, with advice, information or assistance flowing in both directions. These people also maintained strong collaborative links with local government actors from the same municipalities, although those in local government also collaborated quite strongly with their counterparts from neighbouring municipalities and with others, via network organisations such as the territorial *colegiado*. A number of central figures emerge in a network of strong collaborative relations, linked with a variety of others including different categories of actor, in different (but usually neighbouring) municipalities and also with people with different political affiliations.

Fig. 6N2.3 Collaborative links characterised mutually as strong amongst the sample of 30 actors in the Jiquiriçá Valley



Note: in the diagram, actors without strong links to others in the sample appear in the top left corner with no linking lines.

Combining the network analysis with the qualitative information imparted by informants about their network links during the interviews, two broad types of ego networks (networks as centred on single individuals) were discernible:

i) Smaller, geographically restricted networks, generally confined to people in the sample group from the person's own municipality, and some from small number of immediately neighbouring municipalities. In Figures 6N2.1, 6N2.2 and 6N2.3, a more localised network of people from Santa Inês and Cravolândia is discernible in the top right of the diagram. These people have connections with each other, and also with people from the adjacent municipality to the east (and with the Prefect of Planaltino, another largely semi-arid municipality further to the west) but relatively few connections with those from elsewhere in the valley.

Typically, private traders and some municipal local government officials were part of more geographically restricted sub-networks. Traders and business people had other people in the sample from the same municipality as customers - a unidirectional relationship in which the

supplier sells goods to the customer - although in some cases they also collaborated directly with those people, for example in charitable and civic projects. Although in some cases business people were familiar with other people in the sample, particularly better known people in public life, they did not have any sort of collaborative relationship with them. These respondents also cited small numbers of important collaborators including other people local to the same municipality and in some cases from outside the Jiquiriçá valley, such as figures from state or federal government, or business associates from regional towns and cities.

The local government representatives in the sample fell broadly into two groups according to their political affinities: those involved in or close to the Workers Party collaborated outside of their municipalities with others also linked to the PT's network or involved in government, whereas those of a centrist or centre-right political orientation did not, and had more geographically restricted networks, although in some cases reporting specific linkages to political allies at state or federal levels.

ii) Broader networks, including contacts in their own municipalities but geographically extended across the group of municipalities examined, maintained principally by the civil society and state agency representatives in the sample. These people were those involved in formal and informal territorial networks – those of the rural union movement and its collaborators, which partially coincided with the territorial collegiate body. At the same time, they also maintained local, municipal level networks with people from local government and the private sector whose own networks were mainly local, and they also cited a range of other local people and others from regional cities and in state government as important collaborators. In other words, in terms of the varieties of social capital inherent in the network, they had established effective *bridging* connections with people elsewhere in the valley, vertical *linking* connections with actors at higher levels beyond the valley, and strong *bonding* connections with their colleagues at municipal level and within their own groupings of civil society or state employees. Collaborative relations amongst this group were on the whole described as good or very strong. However, there were also some differences between localised sub-groups and some mutual differences of perception as to how strong and important these collaborative relations were.

- Collaborative links were strongest amongst rural union activists and leaders. As revealed in interviews with these informants, they had a number of parallel and self-

reinforcing linkages: collaboration at local municipal level, through the union movement, the territorial collegiate and importantly, underpinned by shared political affiliation or alliance with the ruling Workers Party (PT), and also in various cases by participation in religious networks established by the Catholic Church.

- State employees were also significant in these networks, as were others not part of the rural union movement but engaged in other social movements and NGOs. However the networks of the state employees tended to be more restricted - amongst state employees themselves and the municipalities they dealt with as part of their jobs
- The union activists primarily collaborated with each one another but also collaborated with other actors e.g. from local government at municipal level and had quite broad familiarity networks within the valley. A small number of people (leading union activists, politicians and some state employees) operated in brokerage roles, maintaining collaborative relations with others outside this group who did not share the same political affiliations.

Centrality and brokerage

Centrality describes how a network is organised around particular central points (Scott 1991 p.89). In network analysis centrality can be considered in a number of different ways. *Local centrality* simply describes the extent to which a point is connected to other points in the network – in this case the number of people with collaborative connections of some sort with others in the sample. Frequency of connections however is not the same as centrality in the overall structure of the network, or *global centrality*, which depends upon those points or network members who play central roles in connecting the different elements of the network together, or those displaying the greatest degree of “betweenness”, i.e. the frequency with which they are able to provide a bridging point between other pairs of members of the network by virtue of the number of strong connections they have with others who are not strongly connected with each other. The central figures in the grouping investigated were those with the largest number of collaborative relations connecting them with others in the group, but the most central to the group as a whole are those that display the greatest *betweenness centrality*¹⁴⁴. It is not surprising that these people were also quite well known

¹⁴⁴ Also known as Freeman centrality, following the pioneering work of Freeman (1978) in network analysis, who constructed a measure of *betweenness* or *global centrality*. See also a discussion of different measures of network centrality in Scott (1991). Although calculating degrees of *betweenness* is mathematically complex, the

public figures in the Jiquiriçá valley, and that they included those most active in network organisations. Notable amongst these figures were: the current facilitator of the territorial forum, a rural union activist from Laje municipality; the previous forum facilitator, who was also the vice –prefect of Mutuípe and the regional representative of the CEPLAC, the cocoa development agency, and the then former prefect of Mutuípe, who at the time this part of the network analysis was done was campaigning for election as a deputy to the Bahia state government assembly.

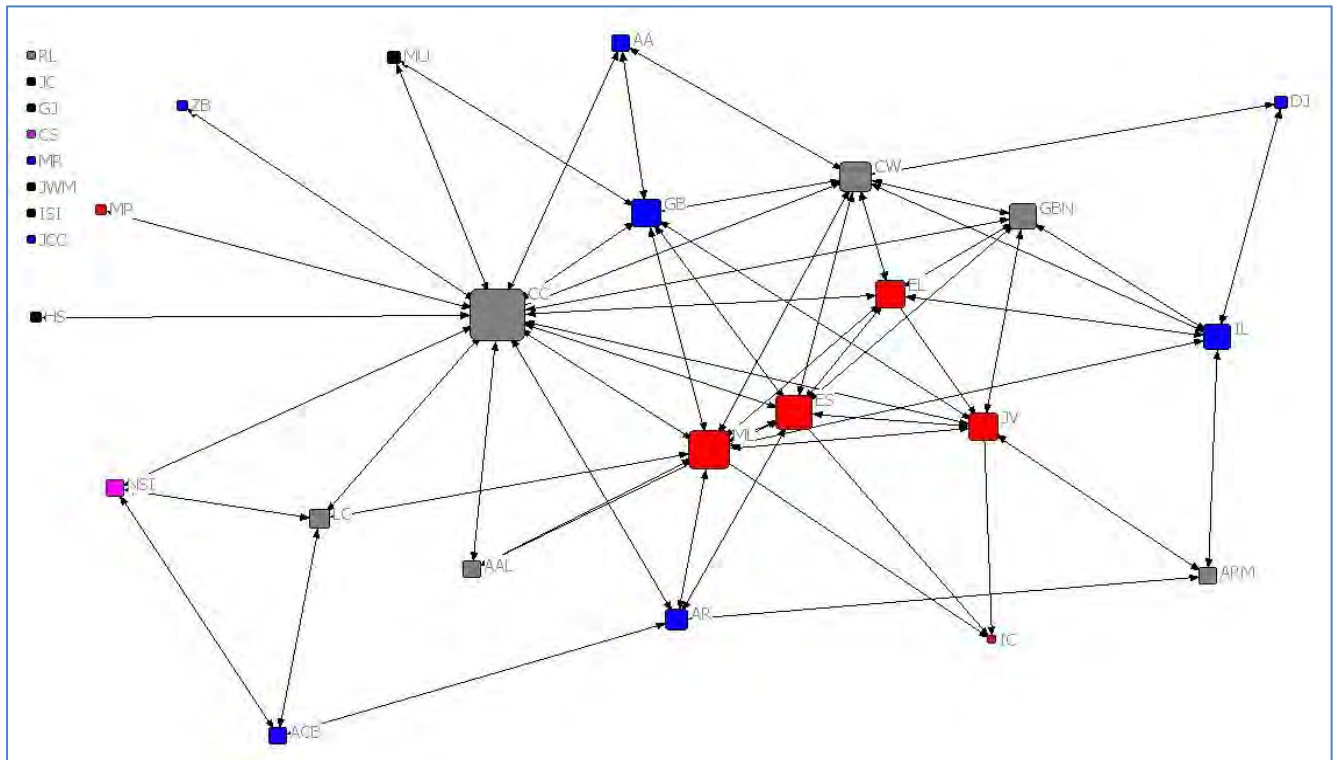
Those people with high “betweenness” centrality were able to act as *brokers*, able to connect otherwise unconnected points by facilitating access of more peripheral members of the network to others with whom they do not have strong direct connections by virtue of the range of collaborative links they have. In a number of cases they have both strong local, municipal level collaborative links but also collaborate strongly with a number of people from other locations or from state agencies.

The diagram Fig. 6N2.4, overleaf, illustrates both local and global centrality in terms of strong collaboration amongst the informants in the network study sample. The size of the nodes represents degree of “*betweenness*” they display, the frequency with which they provide bridging points between others in the network not strongly connected with each other. The largest nodes can thus be considered the best connected, most influential or most powerful players within the group.

As can be observed in this diagram, these globally central figures with the largest nodes and multiple direct linkages of their own fell predominantly into the state government and civil society groupings within the sample. They were also well connected with each other – displaying strong “*Eigenvector centrality*”, a measure of the interconnectedness of those with high *betweenness* with one another (although a formal analysis to compare and visualise the relative degrees of connectedness with others with multiple links was not undertaken). In other words, between them, these central figures did not just link up with almost everyone in the sample, but they also linked up closely with each other, forming a densely networked and powerfully influential group.

measure is intuitively meaningful, and it can be calculated automatically by social network analysis software, such as UCINET that was used in this case.

Fig. 6N2.4 Centrality in strong collaborative relations amongst the sample of 30 actors in the Jiquiriçá Valley



Note: in this diagram, local government actors are represented in blue, civil society (rural unions) in red, state level actors in grey, private sector actors in black, and educational institutions in pink. Actors not connected to the central players appear in the top left of the diagram without any connecting lines.

In network analysis various types of brokers can be considered: *coordinators*; *consultants*; *gatekeepers*; *representative*; or *liaison*, depending on the type of relations they maintain between within the network. One prominent figure, a local politician, liaised widely and also acted informally as a coordinator, and as a representative of local interest with state government, also acting as a “gatekeeper” in terms of facilitating mutual access between civil society and private sector or municipal government elements of the network and being able to determine when this was appropriate and for what purpose. The central civil society figures liaised widely within their own municipalities and were thus able to facilitate linkages to e.g. municipal prefects and officials, despite differing political persuasions (in all cases except Mutuípe), acting as representatives of their own constituencies of union movement members. Together, and with a few others not included in the sample, they acted as coordinators of the rural union movement in the valley. Other central figures from state agencies such as CW (the regional head of CEPLAC) acted mainly as consultants or technical advisors to others in

the network and were generally in a position to mediate interaction of people in civil society with municipal or other state government officials.

- One person (CC) emerged as a very important networker and broker across the region studied, with the greatest degree of *betweenness centrality*, as well as a large number of personal network connections. Although regarded as a political leader and strong collaborator of the rural unions and other members of the associated coalition he also maintained collaborative links with the private sector, prefects and officials from other municipalities as well as many people outside the territory. As a result he occupied the position of greatest centrality and power within the sample and was able to broker connections between the collegiate territorial network and other actors not engaged with it. Although the specific connections with the other members of this particular sample may not be of great significance for his immediate network of political supporters in Mutuípe and the surrounding area, they do illustrate the wide range of contacts he maintains and how these links could be utilised. In practice he had played a significant role mobilising financial and technical resources to support projects in his municipality and the territory as a whole and was clearly someone prepared and able to collaborate with others irrespective of political loyalties.
- A group of four municipal union leaders from Laje, Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá and Ubaíra formed a close group of collaborators and also occupied globally central positions in terms of their wider local and territorial connections and *betweenness*. They were also all one another's close collaborators, and reported collaborating closely with CC, although they did not maintain as wide a network of close collaboration of the same high degree of *betweenness centrality* as CC.
- A number of government officials also occupied quite central positions with multiple network connections, mainly within their own municipalities – combining social and political linkages with the rural unions and with one another, and professional collaboration with municipal government officials whether or not these shared the same political sympathies. They also had links with counterparts in neighbouring municipalities. However the local government representative with the most central position (GB, an education official in Mutuípe) was effectively a key figure in the local social coalition, with strong links with the rural union movement and was a Jiquiriçá Valley representative on CAPPÁ – the State government-established commission for monitoring implementation of Bahia's pluri-annual plan (PPA).

These influential brokers occupy these positions because of the multiple roles they play and their willingness to collaborate directly with other actors from different types of organisations and with varying political affiliations. In some cases, they correspond directly with the core players in the collegiate territorial body (see Figures 6N1.5 and 6N1.6), notably CC, the ex-Prefect of Mutuípe, the then facilitator of the territorial *Colegiado* and one of the other members of the *Colegiado*'s directorate, the rural union president from Jiquiriçá municipality. Two others however, rural leaders from Mutuípe and Jiquiriçá were effective brokers not because of their direct participation in the *Colegiado* (in which they were less frequent participants than the others) but because of their strong civic roles, bringing them into collaboration with large numbers of people locally and in neighbouring municipalities, in addition to participation in wider political and union networks in Bahia. One other person, GB, played a central role by virtue of being linked to multiple network organisations including the Teachers' Union (of which she was a local leader) the *Colegiado* and, at state level, the CAPP. The roles established by these figures illustrate the importance of informal social connections and of formal roles in specific network organisations in building collaboration across different groups and localities, in addition to the role of the *Colegiado* itself, which tends to be dominated by a particular group of rural union activists and has had only limited success in drawing in the participation and collaboration of other groups.

Cliques and factions

In network analysis, a clique can be considered as a grouping within which all of the members are connected to one another (Scott 1991, p.114-115). Several overlapping groupings of this type were identified using UCINET software to analyse the data collected. These groupings were multiple configurations consisting of 5 to 6 actors drawn from the largely coherent broader group of social movement / coalition members. As these groupings all overlapped, they were quite closely connected with each other and so did not constitute exclusive cliques - within this coalition not everybody collaborated with everybody else, but many or most people did. These groupings were substantially but not entirely homophilous (drawn from the same category – civil society), also including collaborators from local government or state agencies, with shared political and social movement affiliations. Other cliques based on locality (e.g. the groupings in Mutuípe, Santa Ines or Ubaíra) and homophilous groups of local government and state agency actors were also identified. The links amongst members of the sample from Mutuípe, including both municipal and civil

society representatives, also linked to the private sector emerged as particularly strong and reported strong relations with actors from state agencies.

The progressive social coalition of networked actors in the eastern part of the valley is by no means homogenous or unitary. To a degree it divides geographically and in relation to differing factions within the governing party, clustered around two local political leaders from important towns in the eastern valley: CC, at the time the former prefect of Mutuípe, and the then serving mayor of Amargosa. Although not emerging clearly from the analysis as separate factions (or cliques which are not connected, or only weakly connected with each other), during interviews members of these two groupings reported extensive local networks within their own and with neighbouring municipalities, but maintained only weaker collaborative links with each other. These differences reflect differing interests in these two local sub-regions, and concentration on different issues, as well as membership of different factions within the governing PT. The Amargosa grouping was not strongly represented in the sample, but central actors from Amargosa reported strong network connections with other local actors from Amargosa and its immediate neighbours who were not included in the sample. Their collaboration focussed strongly on environment, Atlantic Forest conservation and sustainable agriculture, and they also maintained linkages with different Federal government policy initiatives, notably CONSAD (the Food security council initiated by MDS which had strong participation from certain municipal governments), as opposed to the *Território de Identidade* sponsored by MDA, in which the coalition centred around Mutuípe participated more strongly, although the Amargosa grouping also participated in this.

Via the Collegiate Forum of the *Território de Identidade*, the Mutuípe-based social movement and the overall social coalition for the Jiquiriçá valley tended to aggregate new members at the margins – from more distant municipalities that did not share the same history of community mobilisation by the Catholic Church and rural union organisation with the movement in the eastern valley.

In terms of how collaborative relations could be strengthened and the policy implications of the networking characteristics uncovered (discussed further in the next chapter), union movement members emphasised the need for strong participation in and government support for the territorial collegiate body. Private sector and local government respondents favoured government incentives and inter-municipal links to promote trade and industrial

development, with greater investment in technical assistance and professional training. Private traders suggested establishment of non-political, multi-stakeholder forums and consortia to promote debate and manage investment programmes. Respondents in general recognised the need for organisation on some sort of sub-regional basis, in view of the size and diversity of the territory as a whole.

External networks

In order to assess the relative importance of relationships within the sample and those that members of the group maintained with others not included, informants were asked to identify up to five additional or external collaborators they felt to be important, and to indicate whether or not these people were connected with each other and with others in the original sample. Naturally enough, informants identified both local collaborators who were external to the sample and others who were also geographically external to the Jiquiriçá valley as a whole. These extra-territorial connections provided an indication of the broader networks in which informants participated and could draw on to advance their work within the valley. A number of interesting differences between the different categories of informants emerged.

Those from the private sector maintained commercial networks with other traders, buyers and suppliers within the wider region, as well as networks within their own municipalities, in some cases being involved in charitable or civic activities in addition to trade. Links with higher levels of government were confined to specialist business private sector development agencies such as SEBRAE and SENAI. Those engaged in farming had links with other large-scale farmers and in particular, the veterinary services.

Municipal officials tended to have a combination of local collaborative networks, collaboration with their counterparts in neighbouring municipalities (e.g. other secretaries for education, agriculture or social welfare) and selective linkages with government institutions. Officials from Mutuípe reported generally strong internal links including with local community associations and some strong external links – a feature of the progressive social coalition that has become established here, involving community organisations, rural unions, other professional groups, local government and state government representatives. The Secretary for Education from Ubaíra, although conservative and only very weakly linked with others in the network sample, reported good collaborative links with counterparts in various different municipalities in the valley and with state level educational institutions, and

evidencing the work done by *Educavale* (the main initiative taken so far under MERCOVALE, the consortium of Jiquiriçá valley municipal prefects). A municipal official from Santa Ines identified close collaborators from two Federal Ministries, those responsible for National Integration and for Cities, both as it happens Ministries controlled by the PMDB (at the time a member of the national governing coalition led by the PT), of which the informant was also a member, illustrating the importance of strong party-political networks for those in municipal government. The municipality of Cravolândia emerged as isolated without significant external connections with other municipalities and was only weakly connected with State or Federal governments and without external collaborators. Even the local rural union organizer relied on other, more central and more established union activists in order to connect with other actors within the valley.

In contrast civil society and state agency representatives generally cited strong collaborative links with a range of external actors and also reported that these actors maintained close collaborative links with one another. Clearly, the rural unions and to a lesser extent the state officials active in the Jiquiriçá valley were also part of wider networks; these individual networks overlapped, and were at least to some degree political, cemented by membership of the PT, and for civil society also to some extent religious, involving shared histories and networks of engagement with progressive elements within the Catholic Church. Notable features were the strength and breadth of these networks, particularly for civil society, compared with those of municipal officials and private traders, whose strong connections were more limited and largely inward looking. Actors from the rural union movement cited connections with the *Articulação Socio-transformadora* of the Diocese of Amargosa (the surviving liberation theology network in the region) and with particular Padrés, the FETRAF *Polo Sindical* (including other municipalities outside the Jiquiriçá valley), other professional organisations such as the Teachers' Union, regional Workers Party activists, government officials, and NGOs. Those most involved in the territorial collegiate forum also had direct links with state government (SEPLAN – the Planning Secretariat, responsible for territorial development) and with MDA officials. State government officials had networks with other state government agencies, particularly at regional level, with collaborators in the cities of Jequié and Santo Antonio de Jesus, with other municipal secretariats, and links with other municipalities.

Perhaps surprisingly, although very much in line with the findings on participation in the territorial collegiate, collaborative networks extending into other sub-regions of the Jiquiriçá valley were not a significant feature: the actors in the forest zone and within the municipalities in which the rural union based social coalition was active tended to have stronger links with each other than they did with outsiders, even if they had contact and nominal relationships via the collegiate forum. The two sectors where cross Jiquiriçá valley networks had developed were Culture and Education. These had grown out of specific initiatives: the State government's cultural development programme for the valley, which had worked in all sub-regions, and the work of *Educavale*, led by the Secretary for Education from Planaltino. In contrast the *Colegiado* had not managed to develop strong valley-wide initiatives and its effective internal network was largely within the in the forest zone and amongst the FETRAF-affiliated unions, also linked to the *Polo Sindical*.

Some informants referred, however, to two other network clusters. One of these was no more than a set of loose connections amongst traders, farmers and officials from the centre of the valley (Ubaíra and Santa Ines) with others in Jaguaquara, the horticultural centre of the transition zone, and with neighbouring municipalities and city of Jequié, a regional administrative centre to the south of the valley. The other was a much stronger grouping based in Amargosa, in which one respondent (RL, an EBDA official, PT activist and director of the Environmental NGO *Centro Sapucaia*) was the central figure. This grouping also involved the Prefect (Mayor) of Amargosa, together with local government officials, union organisers (including those from FETAG as well as FETRAF) and community leaders from the surrounding municipalities of Brejões, Ubaíra, Sao Miguel das Matas and Elisio Medrado. This collaborative network focussed on environmental conservation of the *Mata Atlântica* and promotion of sustainable agriculture, and had strong links with a number of other environmental agencies and NGOs. It represents another sub-regional social coalition in the Jiquiriçá valley, linked to that in Mutuípe, but also to other currents within the PT and with a primary concern with environment, rather than agriculture, income generation and social welfare.

Discussion

The analysis of network relations in this sample of 30 local actors demonstrated extensive webs of acquaintance and familiarity across municipalities amongst public officials, union leaders and others. Professional, political and business relations were less extensive than

acquaintance. For those not engaged in the territorial forum or other network organisations, including municipal officials and particularly private business people, social and collaborative networks were largely confined to their own municipalities and counterparts in adjacent municipalities. A stronger collaborative network in and around the valley's forest zone involving civil society, municipal and state level actors was representative of the social coalition that had developed in this region. It coincided to a large extent with the collaborative network of the territorial *Colegiado*; however it did not originate through this mechanism, but was driven by historical collaboration in the development of the workers party, centring on the *Polo Sindical* and linked to action by the Catholic Church. Indeed the *Colegiado* has been largely unable to develop a more extended collaborative network in the valley, and these research findings suggest that there is little or no foundation for collaboration at this scale within the different effective social networks that exist in the valley. Nevertheless, a particularly strong collaborative network exists in Mutuípe: this forms the nucleus of the social coalition in the forest zone and has also maintains strong collaborative links with external agencies, part of the broader regional and national coalition involved in democratic development in Brazil which brought the PT to power nationally and in Bahia.

Local government representatives consulted had narrow networks of acquaintances and collaborators confined to their own and adjacent municipalities, including regular professional dealings with local union activists maintained independently of differing political affiliations. This reflects the primary preoccupation of municipal government with parochial affairs and the reproduction of its internal power base, rather than broader social and economic development, a feature of the excessive fragmentation of local government and its dependency on federal financial transfers, reflecting the model of decentralisation that Brazil has pursued. Local government participation in broader state initiated territorial networks was however self-selecting and generally low. Officials from municipalities politically allied to government and a few others had broader collaborative networks, pursued through participation in collaborative development projects in partnership with state agencies and civil society groups, in part via the territorial *Colegiado*.

The private sector was not involved in the territorial *Colegiado*, and business people interviewed were not aware of it. While MDA territorial policy has not sought actively to engage the private sector, the private sector itself remains thin and only weakly developed in

much of the valley, represented by very small numbers of retail traders in the smaller municipalities. Business people maintain their own networks of suppliers, buyers and business associates in the wider region, but trade associations are absent or moribund, external investment is low, and private farmers' organisations have collapsed, assailed by a series of crises and difficulties affecting the large commercial farm sector.

State government agents in agricultural extension, education and cultural sectors and one notable political leader networked professionally across different municipalities and were actively engaged in partnership working with rural unions, community associations, and local government. As identified by investigation in other parts of Northeast Brazil (Tendler 1997) and elsewhere in Latin America (Fox 1996), these state agents or "street level bureaucrats"¹⁴⁵ play an important role in extending the social capital resources available to marginalised groups. The findings of the analysis of network relations in the Jiquiriçá valley concur with those of Bebbington (2008) with the regard to the role of these types of agents in a "developmental state", in building social capital that extends beyond the local level, by providing contacts, expertise and technical knowledge lacking amongst local rural unions and community groups, and in utilising their own professional and policy networks to mobilise resources for local development projects.

A small number of central figures emerged from the analysis as brokers of relations between different groups and parts of the valley and with external actors. The ex-Prefect of Mutuípe, regarded by many as a territorial political leader and strong collaborator with the rural unions occupied the position of greatest centrality and power amongst all respondents by maintaining links with allied factions, prefects and officials of different political persuasions from other municipalities, and state government and federal agencies outside the valley. Other state officials and some union activists played similar but more restricted roles in brokering links between local groups and external players and in mobilising resources. These figures, as well as some others interviewed from outside the sample group, acted as socio-political entrepreneurs who engineered innovative development projects in different municipalities, linked to local institutional and political changes. Details of these projects are discussed in section 9 of this chapter, below.

¹⁴⁵ "Street level bureaucrats" was a term coined by the US sociologist Lipsky (1980) to describe socially active and networked officials. These types of actors were also shown to be instrumental in success stories of effective governance in Ceará state in the early 1990s as documented by Tendler (1997)

In addition to the FETRAF linked social coalition centred on Mutuípe, localised coalitions and factions are also evident amongst social networks in the valley. In Amargosa, a historically important regional town also under PT political control from 2004 - 2012, a group of actors allied to the municipal administration pioneered Atlantic Forest conservation projects, democratised municipal councils and also established a participatory budget process. With a broad network of collaborators locally and in the wider region, they maintain only weaker links with the *Colegiado*'s dominant group.

A significant political fissure in Bahia's union movements, between the respectively PCdoB-aligned, and PT-aligned rural union federations, FETAG and FETRAF, has hindered participation in the *Colegiado* from the semi-arid portion of the valley, which includes some of the poorest and most marginalised groups. Here spontaneous community-led land reforms have emerged, with limited assistance from FETAG and MST. In this region shifting cross-party local coalitions of municipal officials, political leaders and community activists have established two remarkable (but entirely unrelated) initiatives, further discussed below: a project for co-operative and small-scale private flower production in Maracas; and an inter-municipal educational network and in-service teacher training programme organised by Planaltino, supported by state government and private universities.

It was notable that although symbolic identification with the unifying concept of the "Valley" was widespread (and evident in the naming of local businesses, buildings and newspapers, etc.), for local actors, as discussed earlier in Chapter 3, in practice the term is used to refer to fuzzily distinct geographical sub-regions comprising differing groups of municipalities, generally close to the river, but never to the whole valley or the territory as identified by government. Significantly, informants from all the groupings in the sample agreed that smaller clusters of municipalities could provide better focus for collaborative planning, although those more closely allied to government also kept faith with the official aim of a collegiate territorial assembly spanning all 20 municipalities of the central and upper valley.

6.7 Interview and fieldwork findings on network innovations

The semi-structured interviews with development actors conducted in the first stage of field research had enabled an initial identification of the various types of collaborative links maintained by informants. The connections most frequently cited in the first stage were

linkages with: local rural union organisations (STRs) and union federations (cited by almost 50 % of informants); EBDA, the state government rural extension service which operates across the valley; CEPLAC, the national cocoa development agency operational in the forest zone; Municipal Councils (or the in Mutuípe and Amargosa municipalities, the expanded Municipal forums that were created); the Territorial Collegiate Forum; and FETRAF's regional *Polo Sindical*. Various informants also cited informal collaborative links between municipalities and their own voluntary engagement in local community organisations, and some cited participation in state- wide networks and organisations.

In the second stage of research, the interviews conducted in the network survey provided the data about collaborative network relations within the sample group, for purposes of the social network analysis discussed above, and generated a wide range of additional data. This included information about respondents' participation in networks that extended beyond the sample group, their perceptions of collaborative social networks in the valley, institutional changes and practical innovations which had occurred, and challenges involved in developing institutions capable of managing and respond effectively to the valley's complex development dynamics.

The findings of the two sets of interviews conducted with respondents were also aggregated so as to assemble broader pictures of the networks that local actors participated in, and of the changes resulting from network collaboration that actors considered to have impacted on social and economic development. In each of the two sets of interviews, informants cited two broad types of change and innovation that were significant to them:

- institutional changes at national or regional levels resulting from the action of broader national and regional coalitions in which they participated, facilitated by the action of local coalitions of actors and sometimes involving specifically local institutional changes; and
- specific programmes and projects for productive innovation which involved new institutional arrangements and working partnerships established by local coalitions of actors working in collaboration with state or federal governmental agencies or other external actors.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 that follow list in ranked order the network organisations and specific projects most frequently cited by informants in both sets of interviews; they also show separately the frequencies of different responses obtained from the sample of network study informants¹⁴⁶.

Table 6.4 Informants' participation in network organisations in the Jiquiriçá valley, scope of the organisations and types of links involved (network survey and all informants)

Organisation	Frequency network survey (28)	Frequency all respondents (51)	Local to Jiquiriçá Valley?	Scope / scale	Types of social capital involved: Bonding Bridging or Linking
TVJ Colégiante Forum	11	17	Y	Jiquiriçá Valley	Bonding amongst members; bridging across municipalities and linking with local government and state agencies
<i>Polo Sindical</i> FETRAF	5	10	N	Amargosa Diocese: includes some valley municipalities	Bridging amongst local unions; Links with Federations and with Federal government via Federations
Municipal development councils	5	10	Y	Municipalities in Jiquiriçá valley	Bridging different groups within municipalities (may be linked to building political networks)
PT	10	10 (only discussed in network survey)	N	National Political Party	Bonding amongst members, building broader networks across localities and linked to government agents
Community-based Producer Associations ¹⁴⁷	1	8	Y	Villages Local communities and	Bonding amongst members, as basis for bridging with local government, and market access / entry
MERCOVALE Inter-Municipal Consortium	2	5	Y	All Jiquiriçá Valley	Bridging across municipalities bonding amongst Prefects
CONSAD	3	5	N	Amargosa region – some Valley municipalities	Bridging civil society and local government, linking with Central government
EDUCAVALE – Educational network for the valley	5	3	Y	All Jiquiriçá Valley	Bridging municipalities and linking with Government
Pastoral Church organisations	4	4	Y	Municipalities in Jiquiriçá valley	Bonding amongst members and social assistance
Municipal charities & Associations	3	3	Y	Municipal	Bridging groups at municipal level
APARA (marketing	2	2	N	Amargosa	Bridging producer

¹⁴⁶ Eight informants participated in both sets of interviews. In reporting aggregated findings of the interviews in some of the tables that follow, repetition and double counting has been eliminated.

¹⁴⁷ Regionally prominent people in the sample who were also members of local community associations

Organisation	Frequency network survey (28)	Frequency all respondents (51)	Local to Jiquiriçá Valley?	Scope / scale	Types of social capital involved: Bonding Bridging or Linking
organisation)				region – some Valley municipalities	associations and links to markets
<i>Polo Sindical</i> FETAG	0	2	N	Regional	Bridging local unions and links to Federation and L
Union of Bahia Municipalities	2	2	N	Bahia	Bridging amongst municipalities and links with government
CIVJ (now extinct)	1	2	Y	All Jiquiriçá Valley	Bridging amongst municipalities and links with government
SINDIVALE	2	2	Y	Jiquiriçá Valley	Bonding amongst members, bridging municipalities and advocacy links
<i>Núcleo da Mata Atlântica</i>	2	2	N	Regional within Bahia	Bridging across environmental actors including state government
CDL (Retail sector coordination)	2	2	Y	Municipal; active only in Mutuípe	Bonding amongst members. Links to local government
Articulacao Socio-transformadora (Catholic Church organisaion for social change)	1	2	N	Amargosa Diocese: Regional	Bonding activists network and linking to higher levels
Forum da Cultura (Jiquiriçá valley cultural forum)	1	1	Y	Jiquiriçá Valley	Bonding cultural associations, bridging municipalities and links with state government
FETRAF / CUT	1	1	N	National Union Federations	Bridging amongst unions and linking / advocacy with government
<i>Sindicato Patronal</i> (commercial farmers union)	1	1	N	Landowner local unions	Bonding amongst large producers; defunct.
MST	1	1	N	National	Bonding amongst members and higher level advocacy links
CET	1	1		Bahia	Bridging amongst civil society in different territories and links with state government
CAPPA	1	1	N	Bahia	Bridging across different territories and links with state government
River Basin Committee	1	1	N	All Jiquiriçá valley	Bridging amongst different localities and other components of the wider hydrological basin, and links with is
Teachers Union	1	1	N	Regional / National	Bonding and bridging amongst members, advocacy links with government

These tables summarise the geographic scope and scale of the networks and practical project initiatives identified, whether localised to particular municipalities, or extending more widely across or beyond the Jiquiriçá valley. The last column in each table is used to indicate the types of collaborative partnerships, or forms of social capital involved in the organisation or project, falling into one of more of three categories: bonding links between members of the same social group, horizontal bridging relations between groups across social and/or geographic distance, and/or vertical linkages established between actors operating at different levels (e.g. community associations with municipal government and specialist state or federal agencies).

Table 6.5 Innovative projects resulting from network collaboration identified by informants in the Jiquiriçá Valley

Projects Identified	Frequency – network survey (28)	Frequency – all (51)	Municipal / cross - municipal scope	Bridging or linking partnerships
PAA projects (in Mutuípe, Amargosa, Jiquiriçá, S. Miguel das Matas, and Santa Ines Municipalities)	6	15	Municipal (up to 2010 in 5 municipalities only)	Bonding among members and Market bridging; Links with Federal programme
<i>Colegiado</i> PROINFRA proposals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Banana Jiquirica • Fruits Mutuípe • Honey Sta Ines • Cassava Flour Amargosa 	4 in total 1 1 2 -	8 in total 1 3 3 1	Cross-Municipal with central facilities in individual Municipalities	Bridging across municipalities; Federal finance
ATER-AMAS (FETRAF-FASE-Assocs)	4	7	6 Municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley; also in Recôncavo	Bonding, bridging and linking; Federal finance
DRS / PPA Mutuípe	4	7	Municipal	Bonding, bridging and Linking; Federal finance
<i>Biofábrica</i> , Mutuípe (cocoa, fruit trees and forest species nursery)	2	5	Cross-municipal forest belt	Linking; Federal and State finance
<i>Base Ambiental</i> , Amargosa	1	3	Cross-municipal	Linking; Federal and State finance
Land reform projects		3	Transition / semi-arid zoneas	Bonding amongst group members and links with State and Federal government; federal finance
FETRAF Housing 5 Municipalities	0	3	Cross-municipal	Bridging and Linking
STRs Rural Education (<i>Petrobras</i> support)	1	2	5 Municipalities	Bridging and Linking
Polo Pedagógico	2	2	Cross municipal	Bridging and Linking
Flores Maracas		2	Municipal	Bridging and Linking
UFRB campus Amargosa	2	2	Regional	Bridging and Links with Federal government
REDES – Ubaíra / Brejões sustainable agriculture and community development programme	2	2	Municipal	Bonding and bridging local associations; links with external agencies
ATER – Land reform settlements (EBDA-INCRA)	1	2	Cross-municipal Semi-arid & transition zones	Linking land reform to external technical support

Projects Identified	Frequency – network survey (28)	Frequency – all (51)	Municipal / cross - municipal scope	Bridging or linking partnerships
Pro-infra Mutuípe training centre	0	2	Cross - municipal / Forest belt	Cross municipal bridging, Federal funding
Water Source Protection	0	2	Municipal / State	Linking local communities to State and Federal finance
Mutuípe Rural roads	0	2	Municipal	Linking local communities to State and Federal finance
<i>Plano Safra 2009</i>	1	1	Cross-municipal	Bridging amongst producer groups and links with state government
<i>Projeto Orla do Rio (St Ines)</i>	1	1	Municipal	Municipal Links with Federal government
<i>Ponto Cultural Ubaira</i>	1	1	Municipal	Bonding amongst artists and links with state government
<i>Projeto Timbo: private Mata Atlântica conservation area</i>	1	1	Cross-municipal part of forest belt	Bridging and linking local communities
<i>ATER sustentabilidade e agroecologia (Amargosa & forest neighbourhood)</i>	1	1	Cross-municipal part of forest belt	Linking local communities to technical support
EMBRAPA fruit tree demonstration plots St Inez	1	1	Cross-municipal Semi –arid zone	Linking local farmers to technical support
Maracas – Planaltino collaboration; (prickly pear for cattle feed)	1	1	Cross-municipal Semi-arid zones	Bridging across producer groups and municipalities
Maracas Milk and Honey Coops	0	1	Municipal	Bonding and links to state government
PRONAF Agro-Amigo	0	1	Federal	Links to technical support

6.7.1 Institutional changes as perceived by local actors

Informants described a historical process of change locally and in Bahia resulting from a broader national process of political and institutional change. Discussion groups of union activists and others in Laje and Mutuípe explained how change has been achieved by civil society action linked to the implementation of Federal policies introduced under the 1988 Constitution – notably payment of rural pensions and access to agricultural credit through PRONAF.

“Changes have taken place because of public policies – the rights to food, pensions and welfare support..... We now have universal access to education....everything has resulted from the 1988 Constitution.” (Group discussion with rural union members in Laje and officials from EBDA on 21 March 2009)

Rural union activists described the process and results of cross-municipal organising by the union movements, the formation of a regional “pole” (*Polo Sindical*) affiliation to FETRAF, the National Family Farmers Union Federation in order to enhance the effectiveness of the unions as a rights based movement. The unions’ primary agenda has been to campaign for and assist in delivery of universal rights under the 1988 Constitution.

Rights have been acquired, and there is now access to pensions with less bureaucracy..... base - level work by the “Polo Sindical” spreading information and forming local unions.” (Group discussion with rural union members in Laje and officials from EBDA on 21 March 2009)

“There was more demand for the union after retirement pensions were introduced for both men and women in 1988, as people need documentary proof (which the unions help to provide) that they are rural producers” (Manuel “Necas”, Union President, Ubaíra)¹⁴⁸.

This still tends to dominate the rural union’s agenda:

“today access to pensions is provided via the union, you make a claim through the union, but much of the time it ties us up ...to joke about it... people could all sit around living on pensions, sometimes we cannot join in other events just because of the accumulation of tasks dealing with pensions, we need to get out of this.” (Erasmoo, Mutuípe Union President)¹⁴⁹

However the local unions’ affiliation to FETRAF has also facilitated access to Federal funding and technical assistance, leading to several successful cross municipal projects (detailed in next section below), notably technical assistance for poor farmers, and a rural housing programme. These projects are a relatively recent development, reflecting FETRAF’s emerging development agenda. For example:

“a union partnership in São Miguel with Projeto GAMBÁ, planted more than 30,000 saplings; in literacy and adult education, six Municipalities have been helped by Petrobras through FETRAF, and the local union indicated which communities most needed support” (Roque, union organiser from S. Miguel das Matas)¹⁵⁰

A variety of institutional changes have taken place at Municipal level, as a result of policies adopted by Federal and also by State government, seeking to improve accountability in municipal planning and resource allocation. However these have had only limited results in

¹⁴⁸ Interviewed on 20 March 2009

¹⁴⁹ Interviewed on 5 August 2009

¹⁵⁰ Interviewed on 23 March 2010

the Jiquiriçá valley. Statements on collaboration with municipalities made by FETRAF rural activists are reported below.

“Only two Municipalities (Mutuípe and Amargosa) are serious about their performance”

In 1998 - 99 the Municipal Council for Sustainable Rural Development was established; civil society learnt how to participate more, but we didn't have conditions to participate and still don't; for instance we need to pay for transport to meetings ourselves.” (Group discussion with rural union members in Laje and officials from EBDA on 21 March 2009)

The informants in Laje also described early improvements that had occurred in the mid-90s under previous political dispensation in Bahia and FHC government). For example mechanization of 26 *casas de farinha* (local cassava flour processing units) took place in Laje Municipality in 1995, assisted via a World Bank funded development programme operated by CAR under the earlier, conservative Bahia state government led by Paulo Souto. The programme facilitated the creation of *Conselhos de FUMAC (Fundo de Apoio Comunitária)*; at municipal level, which identified and prioritised local development projects. However access to funding depended on the Municipality's political connections and influence with state government and state deputies, and community agendas needed to coincide with political interests in order to obtain direct public funding support. Subsequently, in 1998 / 99 Municipal Sustainable Rural Development Councils (CMDRS) were established under Federal Government policies¹⁵¹.

We elected councillors in 92, however our people were still uncomfortable, and afraid, because of the group who dominated the Municipality (for more than 72 years) created difficulties for people to meet and to organize, for example we were not allowed to meet in school buildings, nobody who worked for the Prefecture could receive union leaders openly because they would be punished by losing their jobs. We had to meet in family

¹⁵¹ In 1998 / 99 The FHC Federal Government sought to regulate the role and functioning of municipal councils previously established on a more *ad hoc* basis in funding rural development and other projects and assisted by the World Bank in Bahia and some other states. The early World Bank programmes were intended to promote a more community-driven approach to development and inject funds for infrastructure and development projects at municipal and community level, but were criticized for being subject to political manipulation, with state government directing funds to politically allied municipalities, and municipal prefects directing funds to favoured community associations and using them to build electoral support. Under Federal Government funding the approach developed in partnership with the World Bank was rolled out nationally with new federal funding lines and the designation FUMAC was replaced by CMDRS. Under other sector and state governments' policies, other municipal councils have also been created. However the agendas and membership of Municipal Councils have continued to be subject to political interference by municipal prefects Brazil's territorial development programmes have sought to address this type of problems by strengthening the role of civil society in resource allocation at a cross – municipal level, removing resources from the direct control and influence of the prefect.

houses and in back yards to organise the workers. (Gildásio, Rural Union activist in Mutuípe)¹⁵²

As a result of various stages various demands we managed to establish what the STR of Mutuípe is today, thanks to the support Prefecture, which is the only organisation which is able to bring together different people¹⁵³. But for civil society, the union is the reference point in the Municipality. (Erasmio Santos, Rural Union President, Mutuípe)

In Ubaíra:

“Before there was a lot of poverty. From 2000 up to now things have improved greatly, but there are still difficulties as in health and education.....the Prefecture is opposed to the PT” (Manuel “Necas”, Rural Union President, Ubaíra)¹⁵⁴

The former prefect of Mutuípe Carlinhos da Silva Cardoso (known locally as *Carlinhos*) and other informants in Mutuípe described how Municipal Councils had been democratised and membership made subject to election by local popular assemblies, instead of being directly controlled by the Municipal Prefect, as it had been previously¹⁵⁵.

For various informants, the failure of other municipalities to collaborate with civil society locally or to participate effectively in attempts at territorial institutional innovation such as the *Território de Identidade*, and to organise amongst themselves posed major constraints.

“To build a more just and equal society it’s important that the municipalities organise amongst themselves”¹⁵⁶

The pace of change in terms of access to resources and services has accelerated considerably under the Lula government since 2004, and in particular since the election of a PT led State Government in Bahia, in 2007. *Since 2002 with the Lula government we have gained more e.g. housing projects, technical assistance and support to the development of cooperatives¹⁵⁷,*

Carlinhos da Silva Cardoso cited a number of changes that had taken place under the PT Government in Bahia since 2007:

¹⁵² Interviewed on 5 August 2009

¹⁵³ A PT-led administration was elected in Mutuípe in 2000 and this coalition has remained in control since then.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Sr. Manuel “Necas” President of the rural union in Ubaíra on 20 March 2009. In November 2012 a PT administration was elected in Ubaíra, considered to be largely a result of rural union mobilization.

¹⁵⁵ Reported during a first interview with Carlos da Silva Cardoso on 18 March 2009

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Carlos da Silva Cardoso on 18 March 2009.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Erasmio Santos, President of the Mutuípe Rural Union on 5 August 2009

- Development of the Agrotechnical School in Santa Inez into IFBAIANO, a Federal Higher Education Institute, incorporating training in other sectors including tourism, education and health
- Recuperation of the BA(BR) 420, the central road linking the principal towns in the valley, now adopted as a Federal highway
- Election of two representatives from the Jiquiriçá valley to CAPP (the representative committee monitoring the State Governments participatory multi-year plan)
- Promotion of a public seminar for discussion of State environmental legislation in Jiquiriçá in April 2009
- Bahia's *Ministério Público* had made agreements with municipalities to control deforestation and has also employed environmental educators and promoters, and established the *Base Ambiental* in Amargosa.
- In addition President Lula announced 6 additional *Territórios da Cidadania* in Bahia on 23 March (but not including the Vale de Jiquiriçá).

In a subsequent interview, Carlinhos defended the idea of MERCOVALE the inter-municipal consortium established by local prefects, as well as the earlier achievements of CIVJ, and stressed the importance of continuity. Although these were primarily conservative network initiatives they are distinctively regional and greater in region cooperation is needed, and it is necessary for municipalities to work together despite political differences in order to gain resources from government. He noted greater maturity and responsiveness to Federal and state policies by municipalities, and contrasted the emerging scenario with the “*esquema dos coroneis*” always centred on local municipal political power and resources, through networks of influence in which state deputies were central. In each municipality, considerable sums of money has been invested in election campaigns by local elite families (described as contests of *coroneis versus esquerda* and *coroneis versus coroneis*) although more lately, with diminishing political returns, in terms of election outcomes. Although in some cases the younger members and less powerful groupings within dominant local families now appear to be modernising and have adopted different political views¹⁵⁸ in other cases they also seek to maintain traditionally established power relations and political practices. For example in Jiquiriçá municipality, the same family has retained political power over three to four

¹⁵⁸ For example Carlinhos Cardoso da Silva himself; also by his own admission the environmentalist and PT activist Raul Lomanto, a central figure in the progressive coalition in Amargosa)

generations, and the current prefect was considered by some informants to be strongly influenced if not controlled by his own mother who was a former prefect. Some prefects were reported by informants to actively discourage improvements in literacy, education and civil society organisation, because this threatens established power. Membership of Municipal Councils is still in many cases controlled by municipal prefects and their social, kinship and business networks, which tend to overlap. Nevertheless, the rural unions, over some 25 years, have created alternative axes of power linked to Federal and state government, through which civil society and community associations can now obtain resources directly, without relying on municipal prefects and state deputies. The control of Federal rural infrastructure budgets by the collegiate forum of the *Território de Identidade* was another important example of this type of change.

6.7.2 Institutional innovations

In addition to the somewhat diffuse changes resulting from these broader institutional changes, locally emergent social coalitions and the central figures or policy entrepreneurs involved have achieved localised institutional changes and organised innovative partnership-based projects, by drawing on the social capital resources within broader networks. This has occurred primarily in certain municipalities and in some cases as a direct result of Federal policies. Although not a result of the territorial development policies themselves, they have contributed to localised territorial development at the municipal scale, and could potentially be scaled up and extended to other municipalities. A critical mass of innovations at local and municipal levels had developed in Mutuípe municipality, five of which are discussed below: integrated municipality-wide approaches to community-based economic development, municipal participatory budgeting, local food acquisition projects, a small-scale urban-rural employment creation project, and innovations in technical assistance to establish small-scale community-based agro-processing.

Innovations identified elsewhere that are not discussed here include: establishment of co-operative and small-scale private flower production in Maracas, *Educavale*, the inter-municipal educational network and in-service teacher training programme organised from Planaltino municipality, establishment of private and municipal Atlantic Forest conservation areas and sustainable agricultural practices in surrounding areas in Amargosa, in addition to successful land reform and land purchase projects with new productive enterprises led by

community groups in Ubaíra, Santa Inês, Maracás and other semi-arid municipalities. Project innovations proposed and pursued by the collegiate territorial forum itself under the Federal *Proinfra* programme managed by SDT, the Territorial Development Secretariat, are also discussed, although these have not been so successful in practice as the other examples considered here.

As noted by a local researcher “*development happens locally*”, citing the emergence of women’s producer associations in Mutuípe and new institutional partnerships projects in the valley, which can spread successful innovation to other areas.¹⁵⁹ In Mutuípe, some significant local development initiatives have taken place, in which the municipality has linked with state and federal government and with local civil society and community partners, to devise innovative interventions and access additional resources.

The Regional Sustainable Development Programme in Mutuípe

One such intervention was Mutuípe municipality’s application of the Sustainable Regional Development programme, or *Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentável* (DRS). DRS is a Federal Government programme managed by the national bank, *Banco do Brasil* which has worked in collaboration with municipal government in all regions of Brazil from 2003. The goal is to promote sustainable development, especially in the poorest rural and urban areas through a strategy of negotiated partnerships which require the facilitation and leadership of local government. The DRS seeks to mobilize political, social and economic actors to support existing productive activities with potential for further expansion to achieve greater social inclusion, employment creation and sustainable income generation by democratising access to credit, assisting the development of associations and cooperatives, establishing micro and small-scale rural and urban community-based entrepreneurs and businesses including the informal sector and strengthening family farming. The productive activities to be financed are determined according to specific local circumstances and demands based on popular consultation and may include shared activities in two or more municipalities.

The programme also involved Brazil’s small business development service SEBRAE, the Mutuípe municipal rural union and local community associations in Mutuípe. The DRS implemented in Mutuípe Municipality was the first in the Jiquiriçá Valley, established by

¹⁵⁹ Discussion with Valdirene Rocha da Souza, Masters Student from UNEB researching the DRS programme in Mutuípe on 19 March 2009. Valdirene subsequently became my research assistant for the fieldwork in the Jiquiriçá valley.

Carlos Cardoso da Silva as Prefect of Mutuípe beginning in 2005, and involved 1,977 rural families. In 2007 it was awarded a prize by the *Banco do Brasil* as one of the most successful DRS programmes in the country. It was a partnership led by the municipal authority and involving a diverse range of other actors, Banco do Brasil itself, SEBRAE (the federal support service for small and medium-scale enterprise development), CEPLAC (the federal cocoa development agency) EBDA (Bahia Company for Agricultural Development, responsible for technical assistance and extension), the municipal Rural Workers' Union, community and family farmers' associations, and the School of Nutrition at UFBA, which assessed nutritional levels in poor communities and undertook training and awareness raising on improving household diets and food security.

A process of popular consultations with rural communities to define the productive activities on which the DRS was to be based was integrated with a Participatory Budget process in which each rural community and urban *bairro* discussed the major problems in the region and elected their priorities. The main activities supported were production and improvement of banana, together with cocoa and cassava, and promotion of sustainable agro forestry systems combining these three crops, also including other tropical fruits. The DRS approach requires identification of specific crops technologies and innovations with inclusive potential around which to organise interventions. In Mutuípe, bananas provided the central focus as the most accessible cash crop which could bring returns in the relatively short-term to poor small farmers. Practical interventions involve strengthening 17 community-based rural producers and residents associations, training young people and adults, and development of the value chain for small producers, through small-scale agro processing, quality improvement and establishment of market channels, including through regional markets. The DRS worked throughout the municipality and prioritised the poorest and most remote locations to achieve productive inclusion by combining credit and finance from *Banco do Brasil* together with CEPLAC support for producer groups in sustainable farming methods, and training and enterprise development by SEBRAE to facilitate small-scale processing and marketing for associated tropical fruit crops and products by local community associations, assisted by the local farmers' union. The programme assisted newly established local women's associations to develop social enterprises processing local fruit and cassava products, marketed through various channels, including the Federal sponsored Public Food Acquisition Program (PAA, discussed below), and direct sales to Government and consumers. Rubber was also introduced as a shade plant for cocoa, with a view to commercialization through the Ituberá

Agro-industrial Rubber Company. As a result of the participatory budget local road improvements and bridge rehabilitation were carried out to facilitate mobility of rural people and access to markets. According to Mutuípe's DRS rural facilitator:

Before the programme, the difficulty was for associations to get access to public policies; resources existed but associations had difficulties in formulating projects. Many areas did not have vehicle access....people from Rio do Braço¹⁶⁰ had not even been to Mutuípe, the centre of the Municipality.¹⁶¹

The advantages of the DRS approach lie in its potential to bring together investments in productive innovation with credit, training, and technical assistance, also linked with State and municipal investments in infrastructure and social services. Achievement of this potential depends, however, on the establishment of new institutional arrangements linking the different partners, in this case involving strengthened social capital both within and between communities, and vertical linkages of communities with Municipal government through democratization and extension of the Municipal Rural Development Council into a participatory forum based on local assemblies. Links were also built with and bridges built between external partners in government, and established amongst them to establish a coordinated network with a shared philosophy and division of labour:

“The difference now in Mutuípe is the network of partners that has been established with community associations, including the rural unions, the municipal prefecture, municipal assembly, CEPLAC, SEBRAE and SENAR”. (Marcos Mendes Melo, community activist from Agua Fria, Mutuípe and community coordinator for Mutuípe's DRS Programme, 19 July 2010)

Factors associated with positive outcomes in Mutuípe are the entrepreneurial vision and political will of the Prefect, who led the process of mobilising partnerships drawing on his wide network of contacts and collaborators within the Jiquiriçá valley and at State and Federal Government levels, including within the *Banco do Brasil*, where he was as an employee before becoming Prefect. Other key factors were the effective coordination of the program by the local Manager of CEPLAC (who was also the Vice-mayor) and the active collaboration of the Rural Workers Union with pre-existing links with local communities, and which shared and contributed to the vision of the DRS as combining productive innovation

¹⁶⁰ Rio do Braço / Rua da Palha a remote community visited during the survey 42 km from the town of Mutuípe, located at high altitude)

¹⁶¹ Interview on with Marcos Mendes Melo, community activist from Agua Fria, Mutuípe on 19 July 2010. He was recruited as a community coordinator for Mutuípe's *Desenvolvimento Regional Sustentável* Programme with finance from the Bank of Brazil.

with community-based development and income generation, targeting the poorest, using sustainable farming techniques and promoting women's participation. These different elements, for which the acquisition of new technical and management skills by community associations and leaders was very important, are not present in neighbouring municipalities to the same degree.

The DRS offers real possibilities of establishing positive dynamics of territorial development, although in this case restricted to a municipal scale. There is no equivalent program to broader geographical scale in the valley as there are no mechanisms available for coordination of the relevant actors, particularly different municipal governments. As a result the territorial development impact of the DRS approach for the Jiquiriçá Valley as a whole is limited, although it has recently, and somewhat controversially, been taken up by Jiquirica municipality with a central focus on development of eucalyptus as a cash crop on degraded land. Although it would be possible for two or more municipalities to join a common program, this depends on the political will and ability to articulate of the different local authorities, which has been the main weak point and limiting factor weakening the Brazilian political project of promoting rural territories as collective rural development agents.

Participatory budgets in the Jiquiriçá Valley

The Workers Party led administrations in Mutuípe and Amargosa have both introduced systems of participatory municipal budgeting and planning, involving local community assemblies, direct participation in budget making by elected representatives, and exposure of politicians and officials to popular debate and demands (Rocha Souza 2010). In Mutuípe, where the Government has been developing the "participatory budget" (Orçamento Participativo or OP), and in Amargosa the municipality developed the Popular plan of management and Democratic Affirmation - *PEGADAS* – which translates as “footprints”). In Mutuípe the opening of spaces of inclusion in municipal management, under the management of the Prefect Carlos Cardoso da Silva stimulated popular interest and enabled participation in discussions between local Government and civil society on public resource allocation and planning. The municipality, previously run by right-wing parties linked to an alliance of dominant families since its creation in 1926, linked the Participatory Budget to the DRS programme, and established a process of popular debate, decision making and monitoring for improved infrastructure and service provision through locally organized community

assemblies and election of local representatives to a municipal budget forum directly (Rocha Souza 2010).

Numerous meetings took place in nine different localities, into which municipal territory was subdivided for the purpose. Participation in the participatory budget meetings developed from an average of 20 to 50 people in 2002, to an average of between 200 and 400 in 2008. The principal demands registered in rural areas were for better roads and bridges, water and electricity supply, and construction of health posts. Municipal officials were required to attend monitoring meetings held in all nine localities in order to account for progress and address implementation problems with local community representatives. Practical achievements included rehabilitation of 12 bridges, maintenance of roads, construction of a school, development of a mobile telephone network, extension of the rural electricity network, and construction of rural water supply systems. The Mutuípe participatory budget process did not continue in 2009, however, as municipal revenues and the State and federal transfers had decreased as a result of global economic contraction, frustrating implementation of works prioritised in 2008.

Other innovations associated with the DRS and the Participatory Budget in Mutuípe were the democratisation of the Municipal Councils, previously controlled by the local prefect and active collaboration of the municipality with producer associations in public procurement, together with establishment of an annual local producers' trade fair, and a tree nursery supplying low cost improved cocoa seedlings and fruit and shade trees. These innovations together have improved social conditions, economic opportunity, governance and participation and prioritised the poorest more isolated rural communities and disadvantaged urban locations. Training of community extension agents has been particularly effective in enabling women's associations to generate income from sales of fruit and cassava products developing market networks. The rural unions also secured funding through the FETRAF *Polo Sindical* to train a network of community extension agents in low external input ecological farming methods and improved on-farm processing of fruits and other foods in Mutuípe and in neighbouring municipalities.

In Amargosa municipality, the PEGADAS Plan was developed in 2004, under the management of the Workers Party Prefect Valmir Sampaio, with the objective of preparing a participatory multi-year plan (PPA) and democratising public management through network

and partnership working in which government institutions assumed responsibility in partnership with organised civil society. Meetings were held in both rural and urban communities, for participatory needs assessment and to propose and decide on public policies, projects and programmes. Municipal Government presented the whole municipal budget and discussed the demands and priorities of different social groups through focus group meetings of men, women and young people, putting the resulting proposals to a General Assembly. These PEGADAS assemblies also chose delegates from communities to participate in the "Integrated Conference for Amargosa" (known by its Portuguese acronym "CONFIAR", meaning "to trust"), which in turn elected a group of community representatives to monitor and oversee the development of public policies, programs and projects prioritised by the municipal population as a whole.

These examples shows it is possible to supersede the traditional patron-client political practices of northeast of Brazil at municipal level, in which economic and political power of traditional elites is reproduced by "buying" of popular vote, through provision of support to rural communities in exchange for their political loyalty, and by distributing political positions, contract opportunities and municipal resources as tools of political control. However these participatory budget innovations in participatory management occurred in only two Municipalities, each controlled politically by the Workers Party (PT), but not elsewhere in the valley. They were reliant on the local social coalitions combining family farmers and farm workers, urban workers and professional and business groups that had developed in Mutuípe and Amargosa, and on the vision and authority of the local prefects. In the absence of municipal political will, which in those cases resulted from the political success and influence that local coalitions have had, there are no mechanisms to transfer this approach to other municipalities of the territory.

The Bahia State Government has since also adopted participatory procedures to discuss and ratify the multi-annual plan and budget (PPA). In 2007 this was discussed by the Territorial Collegiate Forum which elected representatives for the monitoring of the implementation of the state-level plan, and the construction of a specialist hospital in the neighbouring city of Santo Antonio de Jesus, and regional investment in small and medium agribusinesses as priorities. Beyond this, however, the State has not invested in building the capacity of the Collegiate as a participatory management and coordination mechanism representative of the geographical and social diversity of actors that exists across the valley. The Collegiate has

minimum funding to cover the costs of meetings and the coordinator's salary, depending on the voluntary work by its members, the predominant segment of which comprises representatives and members of the rural union's social movement, alongside other elements of the associated coalition.

Public Food Procurement

The *Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos* (PAA) is a joint federal programme to provide incentives for family farming, improve access to agricultural produce by people at risk of food insecurity, and establish strategic food stocks. The objectives are simultaneously *to promote access to food for people at risk of food insecurity, and social and economic inclusion by strengthening family farming. The PAA also contributes to the establishment of strategic stocks to supply institutional food markets, including government purchase of food goods for multiple purposes, and enables family farmers to store their produce for commercialisation at fairer prices* (MDS 2013)¹⁶². The PAA facilitates compliance with Federal legislation that regulates the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE) and requires that a minimum of thirty per cent of the ingredients of school meals originate from family farm producers. The programme is managed by the Ministry for Social Development and Combating Hunger (MDS) and national supply company (CONAB) and implemented in partnership with State and local governments, civil society organizations and social movements. The PAA contributes to socially inclusive growth and poverty reduction, by improving incomes in smallholder agriculture, accessing new markets, and generating jobs in the preparation and delivery of food by community associations. It also ensures the supply of fresh, healthy and nutritious food to local schools, hospitals and social projects, raising nutritional standards, while extending social capital within poor communities and building links between rural and urban areas and actors. Historical experience in Ceará State has demonstrated the capacity of public procurement, not confined to the food sector, to generate employment and stimulate inclusive economic development (Tendler 1996).

There are three modalities for implementation of the PAA: direct delivery by associations of prepared products and meals to schools, paid retrospectively by CONAB (national supply company); advance purchase of food stocks from producer associations and cooperatives, including provision of funds for purchase of raw materials for packaging and labels and

¹⁶² Ministry of Social Development website: www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/decom/paa ; accessed on 8.07.2013

processing costs; and direct purchase from family farmers at reference prices in purchasing centres set up close to the places of production, by the municipal departments of Social Development. PAA projects take place when municipalities and social organizations actively engaged, and the PAA can also become a dynamic factor of territorial development, by extending the geographical range of initiatives to generate new enterprises and employment in multiple localities, adding value to family farm production and ensuring good nutrition throughout the school network, based on diversification of natural local produce, and strengthening links between rural and urban communities.

Despite its advantages however, when the field research began, few municipalities in the Jiquiriçá valley had actively taken it up. Without the efforts of the trade unions, producer associations and municipal leaders it would not be able to open up new markets, strengthen producer organisations, improve nutrition or stimulate territorial development beyond a local scale. However the legal sanctions of reduced budget transfers imposed on municipalities which fail to source the minimum thirty per cent of municipal food budgets from family farmers creates incentives for them to participate in the PAA. *Educavale* (a Jiquiriçá Valley organisation for coordinating development of the education system established by MERCOVALE) hosted a meeting between Municipal Secretaries of Education and Agriculture and technical staff responsible for nutrition in several municipalities of the Valley to enable those already buying from family farmers in Mutuípe and Amargosa to present their experiences and orient the others. The territorial *Colegiado* and the local and wider networks maintained by the actors involved have also been instrumental in achieving local implementation of public and the municipal food acquisition programmes and their adaptation to local circumstances, as they have also done for other federal policy innovations. Networks mobilized by union activists and other *Colegiado* members disseminate and implement practical development partnership projects across the valley, independently of political allegiance. With assistance from the territorial collegiate forum in coordination, the rural workers unions participate alongside local government officials in Municipal PAA Committees, together with associations of farmers, agrarian reform settlements, and the various food buyer entities (schools, social care projects, nurseries, charitable Church groups etc.) invited to meetings to define the best ways to organize the programme. As a result, by the end of 2010, at least eight municipalities in the valley have already begun implementing the PAA.

Public food procurement was initiated locally in Mutuípe, under Carlinhos Cardoso da Silva's first PT administration, and further developed during its second mandate through the DRS programme. Of all the project innovations identified by informants PAA projects were the most widely cited and regarded as the most innovative (see Table 2 above). Municipal Food Procurement projects link peasant farmers to hospitals and schools and facilitate participation in broader markets with direct benefits to both producers and consumers. Difficulties cited by participants in the early experiences of the PAA in the Jiquiriçá valley include the bureaucracy and delays involved in obtaining payment by CONAB, the need to ensure that products are free of contamination by pesticides, and the lack of arrangements for purchase between municipalities or scope for medium-scale producers to become involved in the programme, which has limited the range of foods available especially in semi-arid municipalities with little family farm household production.

Rural-urban community development and employment

Sementes de Amanha, women's association, Bairro de Cajazeira, Mutuípe

The *Bairro* of Cajazeira neighbourhood is the poorest in Mutuípe, known as a hotbed of unemployment, social problems and rising crime, developing over the last 20 years as a result of the "rural exodus"- the migration of families and poor people from the countryside who could not get enough income from their small plots of land in search of better living conditions. The Association *Sementes de Amanha* (meaning "Seeds of Tomorrow") was created in 2005 and today consists of 40 women, mostly black, from poor families, many of them single mothers who live in the neighbourhood and other family members who still live in nearby rural areas. The women are organized into groups that received training in income generating activities, including sewing, craft and jewellery making and preparation of sweets and pastries for sale. In June 2009 the Association established a rural-urban project selling agricultural products for preparation of school meals. This recruited a group of 10 women with social connections with the neighbourhood, which still had access to small plots of farm land. The project is part of the Public Food Acquisition Programme (PAA) and promotes a more complete and healthy diet for schools in the neighbourhood. With budget support under the PAA, the Association bought its own kitchen equipment and today supplies 3 schools in Mutuípe with school meals twice a day. A mixed group of urban and rural women work together preparing soups, juices, biscuits and cakes prepared with natural farm produce delivered by other association members. It creates incentives to maintain small-scale farm

production that previously had no market, also enhancing rural quality of life and helping to dissuade families from moving into town permanently. Association members share the revenue generated according to the volume of products supplied and time spent in food preparation.

The total amount that the Association received was limited as a result of PAA programme rules, which stipulate that half of project beneficiaries must be registered as farmers. Otherwise the Association have expanded production to create employment for all its members, including the poorest urban women who have lost their links with rural areas. As a result the associated needed to identify additional rural women producers to collaborate with remaining urban members in a second PAA project, and to establish other projects to create jobs for others. The Association targets the poorest women, previously reliant on *bolsa familia* payments for a minimal income. The aspiration of Dona Raquel, the founder and former President of the Association was that these income generating projects should enable the entire membership to overcome dependence on welfare payments:

*"a year from now, we want to deliver, in a public ceremony, our family welfare cards [entitling the holders to monthly Bolsa Familia payments] because we won't need them any more"*¹⁶³.

Innovations in technical assistance

ATER-AMAS (Assistencia Tecnica e Extensao Rural – Agentes Multiplicadoras de Assistencia Social) ¹⁶⁴

Successful productive innovations have also been developed through projects led by civil society, drawing on new Federal funding lines established under the Lula Government. The FETRAF regional union pole has developed a number of such projects, centred in the forest zone of the valley, for support to rural producer groups, rural housing and adult education. This ATER-AMAS project, managed by FETRAF in conjunction with FASE (a technical assistance and community development NGO which works with the rural unions) provides technical assistance to rural women in production, processing and marketing of natural foodstuffs to increase income generation and stimulate market development.

¹⁶³ Interview with Dona Raquel, President of Sementes de Amanha Association, Bairro de Cajazeira, Mutuípe, 25 March 2010.

¹⁶⁴ In English: "Rural Extension and Technical Assistance - Multiplier Agents for Social Assistance"

Underway since 2008, the project covers 352 families in 8 Municipalities, six of which are located in the Jiquiriçá valley (Mutuípe, Laje, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Cravolândia and Sao Miguel das Matas). Each *multiplicadora* (“multiplier”; normally a young rural woman with basic training in relevant technical, organising and administrative skills provided by the rural union) installs a “kit” costing R\$400 for fruit and vegetable production and marketing in a local household managed by an active producer family and follows up efforts by up to 30 families to improve production, small-scale processing to produce fruit ices, juices, cakes and sweets, and marketing. The kit typically includes a mini factory comprising, a freezer, food processor / liquidizer, and industrial oven, alongside fruit tree seedlings, and a start-up supply of goat manure. The multipliers actively develop groups of women as informal producer associations and organise a rotational credit system enabling new members to start up production, so as to achieve greater throughput. In addition to food production and processing the project assists with organic compost production and soap manufacture and follows principles of agro-ecology and organic production and food sovereignty, aiming to make fuller use of under-utilised local fruit production which otherwise goes to waste. Additional lines of activity have also been introduced, for instance small-scale fish farming with fingerlings provided by *Bahiapesca* (the state government fisheries development agency). The same approach has been extended to other rural territories in Brazil where FETRAF is also active.

In Mutuípe, where, the project has filled the gaps in official provision of technical and local development assistance, five *multiplicadoras* support work in five communities where seven kits have been installed. According to Gilda Andrade, women’s organiser for the Mutuípe family farmers’ union and *multiplicadora* for the community of Andaiá in the locality of Bom Jesus:

*The aim is to provide income generation and demonstrate that family farming can work – to help keeping people, both men and women, living in the countryside. People say that as a result of this kind of technical assistance their lives have changed. So far 120 families involved still small, but compared to earlier it’s a great advance. Each family acts as a multiplier, so little by little it’s spreading to other people who need this kind of support. Public agencies were not really concerned with small producers but more with commercial producers using chemical inputs, so we needed amore differentiated approach, and today we have this. The capacity of CEPLAC is limited and their technicians tend to recommend chemical products...but the vision of our Union Federation is to apply organic farming approaches to work with family farming.*¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Gilda Andrade at Andaiá in Mutuípe municipality, on 5 August 2009

Jiquiriçá Valley Territorial Collegiate Proinfra projects

Informants involved in the collegiate territorial forum, frequently mentioned the various projects in which they were engaged or had somehow assisted. These included the innovations discussed above and the set of *Proinfra* projects under development by the *Colegiado* itself. However, the most frequently cited projects were those that had been put in place under the PAA, DRS and FETRAF ATER-AMAS programmes, which informants regarded as the most important in practice. By contrast, no evidence of significant impacts of the *Proinfra* projects was identified by the field surveys

A principle focus of the territorial collegiate forum, since the establishment of *Territórios de Identidade* and of SDT by MDA has been responsibility for prioritisation and development of local infrastructure projects under the PROINFRA budget line managed by SDT. Under the Lula government, from 2004 onwards, territorial forum members, involving civil society and municipal government were given collective responsibility for the budget which was previously directed, via state government agencies, at individual municipalities under their Sustainable Rural Development Committees (CMDRS) and thus subject to political interference and manipulation by municipal prefects and state officials. This was one of several institutional innovations intended to strengthen “social control” of Federal funding which also included mechanisms that have evidently been used successfully in the Jiquiriçá valley, including the *Banco do Brasil* DRS programme and funding lines directly accessible to civil society, such as that drawn on by FETRAF and FASE to finance the ATER-AMAS programme.

In this case, the objective was to identify projects with potential to strengthen productive inclusion that were not solely municipal in scope, intended to serve small-scale farmers with shared objectives and common circumstances. However as territorial collegiate has no formal legal status enabling it to receive funds and contract work, and its members in most cases have limited technical expertise, the projects development relied on technical assistance provided informally by state agencies such as EBDA and on identification of formal proponents able to take responsibility for project finance and execution. In most cases the only available proponents were municipalities with a primary interest in the project, but nevertheless willing to accept a project that also assisted farmers in neighbouring municipalities. In the first funding round, few municipalities came forward and a small number of projects of limited scope were approved and undertaken. In a second round, the

colegiado attempted to develop a series of inter municipal agro-processing projects identified by members from different parts of the valley which reflected their principle opportunities for small-scale farmers to increase production, add value and enhance marketing. Table 6.6 lists the PROINFRA projects undertaken and under development during the field research.

Table 6.6 PROINFRA projects pursued by the Jiquiriçá Valley territorial *Colegiado*

Project	Lead Municipality / coverage	Status (at end of 2010)
<i>First round of projects</i>		
All weather covering for Amargosa municipal market place	Amargosa: major marketing centre for producers from neighbouring municipalities	Complete
Family farmers training Centre	Jiquiriçá	Complete but without a management plan; premises used by Jiquiriçá municipality
Road maintenance equipment	Mutuípe; facilitates access to Mutuípe for neighbouring communities	Digger / grader purchased and in use.
<i>Second round of projects</i>		
Mechanics training centre	Mutuípe: neighbouring municipalities in the forest zone	Construction complete – project under municipal management
Fruit processing Factory	Mutuípe: neighbouring municipalities in the forest zone	Awaiting identification of management agent and preparation of a management plan
Coffee processing centre and vehicle	Brejões	Awaiting identification of management agent and preparation of a management plan
Banana treatment and processing centre	Jiquiriçá and neighbouring municipalities of forest / transitional zone	Awaiting identification of management agent and preparation of a management plan
Honey production centre and vehicle	Santa Inez and neighbouring transitional / semi-arid municipalities	Approved and underway – management by local producers association

Despite some good ideas and identification of real opportunities for value chain development, the second round of projects faced a series of problems. Firstly, acceptance by the municipalities, which in many cases did not participate directly in discussions at the collegiate forum. Second, acceptability of the municipality to SDT and Federal Government: no municipality formally considered to be in debt to Federal government was eligible to receive additional project finance of this type. Third, the projects were complex in nature, involving installation of new agro-processing equipment and enhanced collective marketing arrangements which needed to prove financially viable, and thus required a considerable range of technical skills to achieve an effective design; skills that were not available to the *colegiado* which also had no finance with which to buy in professional support. Consequently all of the *Proinfra* projects prioritised by the *Colegiado* required quite long periods even to prepare sound technical and financial proposals.

Eventually, as a result of experience of early projects that once completed, remained essentially unmanaged and undirected (such as the Family Farmers Training Centre in Jiquiriçá, the *colegiado*'s flagship project from the first round) and prior to the approval of any second round projects, SDT introduced an additional requirement for clear identification of project management responsibilities and submission of a project management plan. Although the initial ideas were that the projects should somehow be managed under cooperative arrangements by producer associations, local farmer organisations had no experience of this sort of project or level of management, or links with professional and commercial organisations that could manage the projects. This has proved to be a sticking point in getting projects off the ground; when field research concluded only one had been approved, a honey production project for Santa Ines, led by a local producer association which had established links with technical support agencies EBDA and SEBRAE.

Discussion

What sort of network relationships and partnerships are involved in practical innovation? The successful projects discussed above, such as the DRS in Mutuípe, the PAA projects and the FETRAF-led ATER-AMAS project all combine decentralised participatory planning with local economic development thinking, in bringing together local producer and community organisations with other value chain actors including credit and service providers, training organisations, traders and buyers to expand opportunities in agricultural markets.

These projects aim to bring small-scale producers together strengthening internal or bonding social capital within producer groups, and also to make horizontal or vertical links with external markets. In some instances they have brought together groups from different locations (as the PROINFRA projects seek to do but have so far not succeeded) or formed bridges between different groups and actors, notably the PAA projects which link specific producer groups to municipalities and to specific schools and social projects. The geographic extent to which projects attempt to bridge producer groups from different municipalities presents a hurdle, and to address this, MDA has had to introduce procedural changes and legal amendments that enable participatory forums (such as the assembly of Territorial Collegiate members, or the participatory budget forums in in Mutuípe and Amargosa) to be granted formal status as deliberative bodies.

Successful innovations also rely on effective networks to get them off the ground. While the introduction by federal government of new funding mechanisms for civil society support that do not require the formal support of municipal prefects (an institutional innovation originating at a policy level, but supported by local actors), the successful project innovations identified all developed from partnership networks, involving community organisations and higher level actors such as regional or national NGOs, rural union federations, municipalities, state and federal agencies, or in the case of the DRS, a combination of all of these. Strong, well-bonded groupings are needed to demonstrate demand and provide support, and there should be scope to scale-up at municipal or a broader territorial level, with institutional arrangements in place to facilitate multiplication, and provide specialist technical and management expertise, generally not available locally. Thus both horizontal and vertical partnership links are involved. In other words, for a productive, grassroots project to succeed, the social capital available to its proponents and beneficiaries must include not only strong bonds but also effective bridges with other local groups or actors, such as the municipality, and strong links with external facilitators and sources of technical support and advice. Leadership from particular political and social entrepreneurs including key figures such as the former prefect of Mutuípe who emerged as brokers from the social network analysis undertaken) who maintain multi-level networks and are able to utilise their personal social and political capital to engage other actors has also been a key factor.

The absence of good external linkages presents a major constraint, evidenced by the difficulties faced by the proposed PROINFRA projects. For economic development projects, specialist marketing, business and management support is clearly needed, yet appreciation of this economic development thinking is largely absent at the level of the *Território de Identidade*, which has concentrated on promoting social inclusion and actor participation, and is also largely absent from the municipalities themselves. By contrast the successful projects documented here all originated in innovation by local government or by the rural union movement working in partnership with community-based associations and agencies of Federal and/or State government. They have both drawn on institutional innovations and legislative reform to financial mechanisms by Federal Government and established new, partnership-based institutional arrangements for implementation, although these have not necessarily been formalized as long standing mechanisms, or funding and collaborative agreements amongst partners are involved. Although more localised in scope than territory-wide initiatives, they have proved to be more effective and sustainable as a result of direct

engagement by local government. The territorial collegiate has so far been unable to replicate these types of innovation using the Federal funding mechanisms at its disposal, and current territorial development policies and funding lines do not provide incentives for municipalities to participate directly. None of the productive innovations documented here have resulted from MDA and Bahia State government's territorial policies, except indirectly through the *Colegiado's* assistance in disseminating and facilitating new municipal food purchase projects. They have all involved making links between local, grassroots producer organisations and Federal funding sources, facilitated by external actors and / or municipal government, although in the east of the valley the actors involved are also affiliated to the *Colegiado*.

The driving force behind successful rural development initiatives in Mutuípe and surrounding areas of the valley's forest zone has been the socio-political coalition of rural unions, community associations, professionals, state agencies and local government described in this chapter. This arose as a result of Mutuípe's specific history as a centre of rural community mobilisation and development by the Catholic Church during Brazil's dictatorship which led to formation of autonomous community organisations and active local rural unions. It is characterised by high proportion of women in leadership positions and direct participation by Workers Party activists, government officials and technicians, exemplifying the importance of state agency in building social capital (Bebbington 2009), both locally and at a broader territorial level. Informants cited as key factors the role of the church, synergy of progressive municipal and federal policies and leadership of the DRS programme and associated initiatives by the local prefect, himself an integral part of the social coalition.

The innovations that have had greatest impact have all addressed "soft" social and institutional factors including social attitudes and mind-sets (or *habitus*), group organisation, collective action and social capital including relations of reciprocity and solidarity amongst local actors, to initiate change in local arrangements for control and utilisation of natural resources, market structure organisation and governance (Fligstein 2002). In other municipalities without large numbers of small farmers and similar histories of social mobilisation, the social and institutional conditions for sustainable local economic change are not present. Where land, labour and natural resources are still controlled by local oligarchies, *clientelist* political practice has become institutionalised as local prefects manipulate social

organization to distribute political favours to loyal communities to secure votes and reproduce established political and economic power.

6.8 Synthesis: actor networks, social movements, social coalitions and institutional change

Within the Jiquiriçá Valley, geographical alignment of agrarian structures with strong elements of small-scale family farming with state policies and initiatives targeting the poor has been closest in Mutuípe municipality, where a specific coalition of local actors has emerged. Its emergence was part of the broader development of social and political coalitions within Bahia and more generally in Brazil from the mid-1980s onwards, which has stimulated local institutional change and directed public action towards more inclusive and sustainable economic development in favour of the poor as a whole, including small-scale farmers. In Mutuípe, and increasingly in neighbouring municipalities of the valley's forest zone, the rural union movement, state agencies and in some cases municipal government now play central roles in a broader social coalition which has facilitated application of progressive federal and state policies and led to localised institutional and productive innovations in the valley. These changes have involved much more intensive applications of progressive federal policies than elsewhere in the valley, and were cited by informants as making an active contribution to poverty reduction and inclusive development in Mutuípe. Although they are too recent to have impacted on the development indicators in the 2000 census they may well have affected those in the 2010 census, which showed that income inequality had begun to fall since 2000, as discussed at the end of Chapter Five. Quite plausibly, the high density of associative activity and income generating projects involving the poor in Mutuípe has led to capture of greater shares of income from agricultural production and trade by poorer groups, and combined with the impacts of increased social income transfers, to reduced inequality.

In the light of these findings, it can be concluded that while differing and slowly changing agrarian structures, and the application of state policies and public investment been central factors mediating the effects of market development and of economic geography *per se* on development in the Jiquiriçá Valley, as shown in Chapter Five, under specific conditions, new coalitions of social actors can emerge to bring about institutional changes that reinforce the effects of other factors favouring more inclusive agricultural growth. In this case, these conditions involved the presence of large numbers of poor small-scale farmers, and

engagement by external change-agents linked to Catholic Church in the training of community leaders, the development of social capital, and the enabling of links between local organisations and broader regional processes of social and political mobilisation. These activities, in turn, led to the foundation of rural union organisations able to form links with policy actors and outside sources of technical support and influence local government to bring about local political change, and establish more democratic institutional arrangements for governance. The economic growth that Mutuípe and neighbouring parts of the Jiquiriçá valley have fortuitously enjoyed, in large part due to the returns to cocoa farming, has also led to the emergence of a new rural-urban middle class, originally rooted in farming communities, whose interests are closely allied to those of small farmers as a whole. This has helped to consolidate progressive political and institutional change in local government, in which the collaboration of government officials and professionals with the rural unions and community-based organisations has improved access to progressive federal programmes and to funding and technical support for productive innovations, reinforcing the conditions for inclusive growth.

Previous research on social movements and territorial development in Latin America (Abramovay *et al.* 2007) has noted the disjuncture / uneven relationship between the geographies of social movements and of rural political economies, in terms of regional political and economic structures, and shown that civil society social movements have had greater impact on the political inclusiveness of rural development than on the creation of new economic opportunities. The evidence from the field research and network analysis undertaken in the Jiquiriçá valley illustrates, however, that the uneven geography of social movements within the study area can be a leading factor in the successful instigation of institutional changes and innovative development projects in certain locations, notably Mutuípe, where the geography of social movements and local political economy are more closely aligned, but not in others.

Although attempts have been made to facilitate innovation from above, through Federal Government policy-led institutional changes in funding and planning arrangements designed to encourage state and civil society collaboration at a supra-municipal territorial scale, the impacts have not yet been very far reaching. At the same time, development of new, more effective mechanisms for citizen participation and associated development programmes and projects in specific municipalities demonstrates the potential of engagement by local social

movements in broader coalitions. In Mutuípe, collaboration between the rural union movement, local government and external state agencies has brought about local institutional changes and innovative partnership arrangements that can create real new economic opportunity for poorer and less powerful groups. Productive inclusion is thus intimately related to the strength and breadth of social capital within a broad and politically active coalition with good vertical links, and to gradual processes of institutional change.

Some of the features that characterise territorial coalitions noted by Fernandez and Asensio (forthcoming) are of relevance in analysis of the coalitions present in the Jiquiriçá valley:

- These authors note that the incentives for a diversity of actors to form a coalition are greater when they face a common threat or tensions between alternative territorial projects (for instance a large-scale mining or infrastructure development investments which disrupt existing production systems and livelihoods over a wide area). Where these elements are not present, the breadth and visibility of social coalitions is likely to be restricted. The Jiquiriçá valley is a case in point: there are no threats to existing production systems and livelihoods common to its different sub-regions and social groups, and the network analysis conducted showed that in practice private sector and business interests are absent from the emergent territorial coalition promoted under government policies. On the other hand, the analysis found that some of the larger farmers and business people interviewed reported that they do participate in municipal scale development projects promoted by local coalitions, where they have shared interests in promoting local economic development.
- In addition under certain circumstances territorial coalitions can (as can social movements) manifest a shared development narrative or vision of considerable discursive or symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991), appealing to other actors and thereby socially and politically influential. Social mobilisation and lobbying of municipal government by the FETRAF affiliated unions has brought about political gains by the Workers Party (PT) in the Valley's forest belt, consolidating its power in Mutuípe since 2000, and also achieving electoral victories in Laje and Ubaíra in 2012. In contrast to the strong localised development visions articulated by municipal scale coalitions of actors, for instance in Mutuípe and Amargosa, the territorial collegiate forum had difficulties in formulating a clearly articulated plan.

- Shared coalition objectives are not necessarily explicitly formulated in clear proposals or programmes of action, but the actors involved must nevertheless show capacity to act in convergent ways that reinforce common or mutual objectives, even if based only on informal networks. In the Jiquiriçá valley the coalition involving FETRAF union members, public sector workers and state officials, adopts an implicitly shared development vision that aspires to growing prosperity of family farming, increasing participation in markets, including niche markets for organic and local produce, combined with increasingly prominent environmental and feminist development agendas, and inspired by a continuing tradition of liberation theology related Catholic religious belief¹⁶⁶. While evident in the manifestos and programmes of specific actors, notably those of FETRAF and affiliated local unions, and in the discourse used by individuals, this shared development vision is weakly if at all reflected in collective and collegiate plans. That said, the discourses of small farmer development through access to social rights ecological farming, women's empowerment and *comercio solidário* (social enterprise; literally, “solidarity trade”), for example as promoted by the PAA programme) adopted by rural union leaders, social movement actors, state agents and municipal politicians, and promoted by some state government and MDA programmes has tended to become blurred, reflecting a convergent development vision and high degree of implicit collaboration within this informal (and not territorially restricted) coalition.

Collaborative networks in the Jiquiriçá valley are, however, skewed geographically and are not representative of its broader diversity, raising questions about its status as a territory based on shared social affiliation with geographic space. Political rivalry between FETRAF and FETAG has largely prevented involvement by FETAG affiliated local unions in cross-municipal territorial planning. This is one of the *Colegiado*'s principle limitations, although in practice small-scale farmers active in FETAG-affiliated unions from Maracas and

¹⁶⁶ This orientation can be interpreted as a broader updating of the FETRAF development vision of improving access by small-scale family farmers to state policies, programmes and resources provided by the state discussed by Abramovay *et al.* 2007. The specific traditions of collective mobilization and militancy in Northeast Brazil cited in that paper may partially explain the differences between the stance adopted by FETRAF in southern Brazil and in Bahia. Nevertheless the extent to which FETRAF in Bahia has been able to assume a proactive economic development agenda in a broader territorial context remains limited, as Abramovay *et al.* found in Sao Paulo, although it has developed innovative agrarian development projects in collaboration with allies within municipal coalitions and external actors by drawing on new Federal funding lines that became available under the Lula government, such as the ATER-AMAS project discussed on p.363-4.

Amargosa have participated, and share similar objectives to those of their counterparts in other municipalities from FETRAF-affiliated unions.

In the eastern part of the valley where family farmers are concentrated, there has been strong engagement by the FETRAF-affiliated family farmers' unions alongside state agents in both local development initiatives and the territorial *Colegiado*, although other groups and local government have been less involved, and the private sector was absent. In contrast to FETRAF's constituency and approach, FETAG's activities in the valley have been largely restricted to the municipal level and directed to rural workers providing support for their members in accessing social entitlements, such as pensions, and engagement in national campaigns, for instance for land reform and women's economic and social rights. Moreover, whereas the FETRAF rural unions have been politically influential amongst local electorates, leading to municipal political changes in a number of cases, the FETAG unions have been less so, having little impact on conservative local governments and the continuing power of local oligarchs. Table 6.7, overleaf, summarises the effects of the interaction of political orientation of local government, including the presence of other political parties not so far discussed, with different levels and styles of rural union organisation that occur in different municipalities.

The considerable social capital inherent in its local and broader social networks has enabled this grouping of actors to forge external partnerships, acquire political capital, and bring about institutional and economic innovation locally. But given the nature and origins of the movement, there is limited scope for it to lead development of a broader coalition that could achieve similar results and effect institutional changes across a wider geographical area through the territorial collegiate forum as presently constituted. Across the valley as a whole the nature and strength of social capital is highly variable in terms of associative activity (Putnam 1993, 1990) and density of network relations upon which individuals and groups can draw (Bourdieu 2001). In isolated and semi-arid municipalities, patronage relations with landowners and political leaders (*coronelismo*) and an individualist *habitus* (Bourdieu 2005) can still predominate, militating against development of strong associative and cooperative relations.

Table 6.7 Comparative outcomes of political orientation of local government and levels of union organisation in different municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley

Political character of municipal government	Levels and types of rural union / civil society organisation	
	Lower levels of organisation: <i>FETAG affiliated unions, active in securing workers' rights and national campaigns</i>	Higher levels of organisation: <i>FETRAF and some FETAG affiliated unions with civil society links: active in securing rights, promoting family farming and local and territorial development.</i>
Left (PT) e.g. Mutuípe since 2000 Amargosa 2004 – 2012 Laje and Ubaira since 2012 Maracas since 2008	Encouragement of independent civil society organisation; resource mobilisation for community development and local investment;. e.g. Maracas	Reform of municipal institutions – participatory budgeting; joint mobilisation of external financial and technical resources for municipal development programmes; co-operation with other municipalities; e.g. Mutuípe.
Centre (PMDB and other parties) –left / liberal alliances e.g. Brejoes, Planaltino, Santa Ines, Jiquirica, Jaguaquara, Itiruçu, ilaje prior to 2012	Tendency to reproduce paternalistic forms of organisation but with tolerance of independent community organisation. Willingness to implement social programmes; e.g. Planaltino, Brejões.	Municipal willingness to collaborate with rural unions in municipal development councils and implementation of federal programmes and mobilise external resources for local development;. e.g., Jiquiriçá, Santa Ines.
Right (PFL / Dem) and Centre – right alliance e.g. Milagres, Nova Itarana, Cravolandia, Ubaira prior to 2012	Persistence of paternalist / oligarchic local organisation. No independent community-based organisation or civil society influence on local politics. Local investment achieved via prefect's private links with state deputies and targeted to politically loyal groups; e.g. Milagres	Little or no collaboration between local government and civil society; independent union action to achieve gains under Federal legislation, for example in Land Reform and technical assistance for community enterprise; e.g. Ubaira, Laje (prior to 2011)

FETAG, despite campaigning for land reform and women's rights, has no history of community organization in the region, unlike FETRAF in the eastern valley. Although internal “bonding” capital may be high within associations and unions in some locations, “bridging” capital, linking different social groups (Portes and Sensenbrenner 2001) or “linking” capital connecting them with external actors, is generally weak and dependent on facilitation by key brokers, although the FETRAF unions have achieved this to some degree. Territorial policy as such, as applied in the Jiquiriçá valley, has so far not forged effective collaborative links across the valley as a whole although many of the same actors have succeeded in doing so in the eastern valley, though other channels.

6.8.1 Changes to democratic spaces and planning mechanisms

The change of State Government in 2007 combined with the new political orientation of various municipalities in Bahia, and changes in federal government under Workers' Party administration, have opened up space for greater civil society access to and influence over public policies. This has facilitated and reinforced the formation of new social and political coalitions, now no longer dependent on local prefects and their connections with politically sympathetic State Deputies and senior government officials to obtain state support. In this context, even the municipalities governed by the traditional elites have been required to coordinate better with local civil society and with State and Federal Governments, in order to benefit from the new public investment and development programmes.

A significant feature of recent institutional changes in Brazil has been the introduction of new democratic spaces for citizen participation in decision making, and the adaptation of existing mechanisms, such as Municipal Development Councils, to make them more democratic. These institutional changes have been initiated politically, by municipal leaders working with broad local coalitions of actors that have supported them politically, or alternatively, in the case of the collegiate territorial forum, under Federal and State government policies that have mobilised a territorially active social movement to lead a valley wide participatory planning process. For various reasons, further explored in Chapter Seven, this has not been as successful because the incipient institutional innovation of the territorial *Colegiado* is not fully representative of local actors, adequately resourced, or formally constituted as a deliberative institution with clear relationship to existing political institutions and other policy initiatives.

The main examples of institutional changes and innovation brought about in the Jiquiriçá Valley that have permitted previously excluded groups to gain better access to resources and development support are shown in Table 6.8, overleaf. The table sets out the different territorial scales at which these changes and innovations apply and also attempts to classify the types of institutional change involved according to the categorises proposed by Mahoney and Thelen (2010) and discussed in Chapter Two.

Table 6.8 Policy innovations in the Jiquiriçá valley, associated types of institutional change and associated territorial scales

Policy innovation	Institutional change	Type of change	Territorial scale
PAA	Legislative change to enforce preferential local purchase; building community organisations and links with schools and social projects	Displacement of existing rules and layering of new and old purchase mechanisms	Municipal – all municipalities
DRS	Partnership and network approach amongst state agencies, municipalities and civil society; new modality for credit delivery; building community organisations	Displacement and innovation in development finance, but voluntary in scope	Municipal – Mutuípe Potentially others
Participatory Budgeting	Development of popular, participatory deliberative mechanisms. Formation of local participatory councils for prioritisation and monitoring; development and “conversion” of Municipal development councils into more democratic fora	Partial conversion of old rules of politically led Municipal councils to new deliberative mechanisms with broader social and grass roots participation. Layering – alongside existing municipal planning methods	Municipal – Mutuípe and Amargosa
Territorial Collegiate Forum and Proinfra	An incipient, cross-municipal deliberative mechanism providing access to funds for priority projects benefiting more than one municipality via a participatory territorial forum; also a mechanism for greater accountability in State budgeting and planning	Layering – new meso – level deliberative arenas functioning alongside existing municipal finance and planning mechanisms providing access to funding and to higher level policy making	Jiquiriçá valley Territorio de Identidade – 20 municipalities
MERCOVALE Public Consortium	Cross municipal body with legal personality established under State legislation. Access to funds and implementation via supra-municipal corporate body		Whole Jiquiriçá valley – 20+ municipalities and some neighbouring municipalities
ATER-AMAS	Direct access to Federal funding lines by civil society building community organisations	Layering – alongside existing technical assistance methods	9 Municipalities including 5 in Jiquiriçá valley – correspond with FETRAF <i>Polo Sindical</i>

In parallel with the progressive initiatives and changes noted here, in various municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley traditional, conservative political forces still govern, or have regrouped through their younger generations in alliance with new actors. The persistent practices of many municipal administrations are to utilise their paternalistic relationships with local populations to maintain political power and their personal networks with higher level politicians to attract resources, and they have resisted integration into more modern public management mechanisms such as public inter-municipal consortia or territorial planning fora, through which resources are now made available through Government programs. In contrast, as summarised earlier in the last column of Table 6.7, the progressive social coalition in and around Mutuípe has been able to tie in to key national and state level policy and institutional changes brought about by government to forge new local institutional arrangements for access to finance, service delivery and planning for social and economic development. These, initiatives, however, remain localised and limited in scope.

The role of the FETRAF-affiliated rural unions as a localised social movement in a broader territorial development process characterized by diversified development dynamics, and in which they have become both active protagonists and instruments of state government policy, presents both movement and government with serious challenges. As the social coalition based around the rural union movement in the east of the valley which dominates the *Colegiado* has a limited network beyond its own immediate territorial domain, it has not been capable of bringing together actors from the valley as whole, the endeavour to which the union movement has been co-opted by the state policies which it supports. These circumstances call for additional support to capacity development of coalitions such as this, but also for a renewed approach to territorial development of the region.

In terms of the categories of gradual institutional change proposed by Mahoney and Thelen (2010), in most cases existing institutions have not been entirely displaced, but new ones have been introduced alongside them in a form of *layering*. Locally, however, in PAA projects and the DRS in Mutuípe, new rules for food procurement and forms of organisation for service delivery have been introduced *displacing* old ones. Through the participatory budget processes in Mutuípe and Amargosa, pre-existing municipal budget management mechanisms through municipal councils largely controlled by conservative prefects have been developed and *converted* into new ones. These developments have created alternatives for civil society, and led to a certain amount of *drift* in existing, paternalistic institutionalised

practices in conservative municipalities, whereby these become outmoded and less consequential.

In addition to the localised and gradual institutional changes that have resulted from the action of the local progressive coalition around Mutuípe, and its attempts to influence territorial development more broadly, a variety of institutional developments which derive from the action of coalitions of actors at higher scales have led to practical innovations in the Jiquiriçá valley. These changes involve social and political coalitions that have developed at national and regional levels in Brazil and the Northeast, and at State level in Bahia, to establish and implement the raft of progressive public policies and expanded redistributive public spending programmes discussed in Chapter Five that have reduced poverty and aided municipal economies. The more localised institutional changes achieved in the Jiquiriçá Valley, and in other rural territories, that have strengthened economic inclusion and favoured greater social equality, have to a large extent resulted from the capacity of local actors and coalitions to tap into policy changes and resulting new opportunities emerging from collaboration with external actors at the policy level while engaging local actors and rural people's organisations. The scalar origin of the different institutional changes, the cross scalar nature of the actor coalitions involved, and results in terms of practical programmes and local initiatives underway in the case study area are summarised in Table 6.9 on the next page.

Across the Jiquiriçá Valley and beyond the rural union movement itself, civil society organisation is still at best incipient, with relatively weak social capital and limited external links; as a result, it has only limited capacity to occupy the institutional space that has opened up. Thus, municipal public power remains an important force to be reckoned with, counterbalanced to some degree by the weight of the alliances constructed amongst the social movements and the Federal and State Governments, but apart from the municipalities themselves there are no formal governmental institutions to manage development at a territorial level. The greater access which social organizations such as trade unions, community associations and NGOs have achieved to public resources, and their promotion of broader social participation in democratic fora, has enabled them, however, to initiate new forms of productive organisation, proffering an alternative to entrenched conservative municipal power.

Table 6.9 Geographic scales of institutional change and innovation and associated social actors and coalitions in the Jiquiriçá Valley

Level / Scale	Programme / Institutions involved	Social coalitions: actors involved	Examples in case study area
National / Federal cross sector and Sector-based national programmes and coordinated macro-regional interventions	National Social Policies, Rural Pensions, Territorios da Cidadania, PRONAF, National Land Reform Programme, PAA <i>Projeto Dom Helder Camara</i>	The Presidency / Federal sector ministries, Union Federations, Political parties, Sector Ministries (MDA, MDS), Social Movements at national and regional scales, State governments NGOs operating at regional scale	Access to progressive Federal policies: Rural Pensions, <i>Bolsa Familia</i> , PRONAF, Land reforms <i>Um milhão de cisternas</i> – rural water supply for semi-arid region; Public Food Acquisition projects (PAA); Land reforms and land purchase projects
State	PPA Participativa CAPP CET / CEDETER	State government Social and Union movements and NGOs at state level	Local participation in CAPP Prioritisation of state investment by Territorial Collegiate Forum, River Basin Management Committees, State housing programme
Meso-scale (sub-regional, territorial, or cross-municipal interventions)	Territorios de Identidade MERCOVALE intermunicipal consortium Regional union organisations (<i>Polo sindical</i>) Church dioceses	FETRAF affiliated unions; some Municipalities and Prefects; Local NGOs; Regionally active State and Federal government agents / officials; Agricultural Extension Agents, Educational bodies	Territorial Collegiate as a planning forum; PROINFRA cross municipal projects; “Territorialised” state and Federal programmes e.g. for cultural development and promotion, seed supply for small farmers EDUCAVALE, shared equipment and infrastructure by groups of municipalities
Municipal	CMDRS Municipal Assemblies Participatory budgeting DRS	Municipal Government, FETRAF and FETAG affiliated unions, Local NGOs, sometimes engaging external partners (e.g. SEBRAE, BNB)	Participatory budgeting in Mutuípe and Amargosa DRS in Mutuípe Municipal Food purchase
Local / Parish-based	Zonal budget assemblies Local purchase arrangements	Municipal government (in Mutuípe and Amargosa), Community Associations, Church groups, Schools	Prioritised local infrastructure investments, under participatory budgets e.g. roads, bridges schools and transport
Community / village	Residents and producer associations	Community leaders and members; small and some medium-scale farmers, Church groups; collaborators in rural unions, NGOs and local government	Community-based agri-processing and women’s employment projects; direct food supplies to local schools and social projects; village water, energy supply, health services; spontaneously organised, community-led land reform groups

As a result of the influence of civil society and the rural union movement, and the rise in power of the centre-left Workers Party at national level, opportunistic local politicians have begun to change their practice in order to succeed as municipal managers, becoming more interested in collaboration and partnership with State and Federal government and with civil society, in some cases even switching political allegiance. This points towards a gradual change of political culture in Bahia, which with advances and setbacks not only in the Jiquiriçá valley but elsewhere in Bahia and the northeast of Brazil, entails a process of gradual and longer term institutional change. Nevertheless, even at the level of the Federal Government there is as yet no clear substitution of traditional *clientelistic* mechanisms for access to public funds with more open, democratic mechanisms, and the two continue to coexist, with varying degrees of tension, in a situation of institutional *layering* (Mahoney and Thelen 2010). The operative scale of territorial dynamics involves clusters of municipalities with broadly common social histories, natural environments, production systems and links to markets in intermediate regional towns and cities. One of these clusters, as perceived by many informants, is the group of Municipalities in the forest zone, centred on Mutuípe – the area in which the new social coalition has emerged to bring about significant but localised political and institutional change, as a result of a specific and localised development dynamic.

The impacts of public policies have been most positive when local government is proactively engaged in promoting synergy between provision of infrastructure, service and credit, training and capacity building for enterprise development, and market development, as occurred in Mutuípe. In some cases this has enabled community enterprise to develop independently even in the absence of continuing state support and the development of public procurement projects. However this has occurred only on localised, limited scales, under specific conditions: in cases where family farming predominates and small farmers still retain access to land, and an emergent social coalition has fostered collaborative linkages amongst the different actors: rural unions, farmers associations, government officials, Catholic Church organisations, NGOs, some business people and government agencies. In this way social factors in addition to economic geography have shaped the different development trajectories encountered in the Jiquiriçá valley.

Territorial development policy has not yet been able in practice to achieve significant productive innovation and economic diversification in much the Jiquiriçá valley. As discussed at the end of Chapter Five, public policy has paid very little attention to the “soft”

social and institutional factors which have been central to the institutional changes registered in Mutuípe and the resulting successful development programmes documented earlier in this chapter. The potential of farmers' organizations and private enterprise has been largely neglected in practice by state and federal government policies. Without incentives and state assistance to manage the development of agricultural value chains, a thriving local agro-processing and marketing sector, to which the social coalition in the eastern Jiquiriçá Valley aspires, is unlikely to develop beyond its present small, dispersed artisanal scale. There are risks of continued dependency on high levels of federal financial transfers, especially in less productive, semi-arid areas.

The diverse dynamics encountered in the Jiquiriçá Valley suggests that greater attention is needed to interrelated processes which occur at different scales. There is no single territorial field, in the sense developed by Bourdieu, or by French and Brazilian social geography but rather a number of territorial network organisations with selective membership which are at once collective actors active in political and regional political and economic fields and also emergent institutions in their own right. The formal institutions of local government in Brazil are Municipal, and although these do not correspond with the broader territorial scales at which development and change take place, to a large extent they constitute the politico-administrative fields within which social movements and other actors must operate in order to advance their interests.

The absolute coincidence of administrative territories with those based on social identity in discretely discernible fields is probably neither feasible nor desirable. However, the continuing centralisation of sector policies and inconsistency of parallel and overlapping geographies of public agencies and territorial initiatives as observed in Bahia is not only administratively inefficient, but inhibits the emergence and effective operation of collaborative and collegiate territorial institutions. Despite the relevance and impact of the FETRAF affiliated rural union movements in the east of the valley and its political alignment with government, its capacity to achieve inclusive development on a broader scale is limited. It is therefore incumbent on the state to look to the real world geography of social and economic change and to bring about greater convergence and consistency in territorial policy and planning, across different sectors, and amongst different decentralized collaborative initiatives. Until this begins to occur, democratic territorial development will remain an illusory goal of rhetorical policy.

Chapter 7. TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY: IMPACTS AND CHALLENGES IN THE JIQUIRIÇÁ VALLEY

7.1 Introduction and summary

This chapter addresses the third and final research question regarding the implications of the Jiquiriçá Valley's development dynamics for public policies directed at consolidating a more sustainable and socially inclusive local economies and the light the research findings can shed on Brazil's rural policies more broadly. The state has played a key role in market development in the Jiquiriçá valley through land dispensations and provision of infrastructure from the late 19th Century. The formulation and delivery of public policies in rural areas of Brazil has changed and developed in terms of the state's interaction with and responsiveness to stakeholder interests and civil society social movements and the emergence of an increasingly developmental state. Until the late 20th Century the state's main rural development roles were the extension of territorial administrative control through support to municipal government, and centralised sector policy for development and regulation of agricultural production and natural resource exploitation. Centralisation was most pronounced during the military dictatorship, but the 1988 Constitution broadened social rights and since then, public policy has been a powerful driver shaping development in Northeast Brazil. The constitution also strengthened decentralisation and financing of local government for delivery of education and health services previously unavailable in rural areas. In response to popular pressure the social democratic government of the mid –late 1990s created the Agrarian Development Ministry (MDA), which assumed responsibility for assistance to small scale farming and land reform, entirely separate from the Agriculture Ministry, concerned primarily with large scale commercial farming. Rural unions and social movements continued campaigning for policies to support the rural poor and for more radical, extensive land reform, giving broad support for Lula's Workers Party (PT) Government elected at the end of 2002. Since then the state has stimulated unprecedented economic growth, associated, unlike previous booms of the 1960s-70s, with increasing social inclusion and poverty reduction (Anderson 2011).

This chapter examines whether or not Brazil's rural territorial development policies, which aim explicitly to promote socially inclusive development, and to extend civil society engagement in planning and decision making, have been effective in the case study area. In

particular, it considers whether or not the current policies, as implemented in Bahia, have played a role in bringing about institutional developments and practical innovations that are helping to consolidate the valley's broadly positive development trajectory by responding to its dynamics and by engaging with the operative coalitions of actors in the valley and the interests and aspirations that these represent.

These questions are addressed through interpretation of data gathered from local informants, in particular views expressed during meetings with rural communities, discussions with respondents to the network survey reported in Chapter Six and in interviews with government officials in Bahia. In addition the assessment draws on findings of other research on rural territorial development and related policies, in other rural territories. A critical discussion of territorial development policy, as applied in the case study area, is developed, based on the available evidence. The issues are discussed with reference to concepts of institutional change, citizen participation, governance and public policies introduced in Chapter Two and as taken up in the arguments developed at the end of Chapter Six.

Before detailing and discussing the findings on these points, it is appropriate, briefly, to recapitulate some of the main points of the argument so far, in relation to policy. Chapter Three introduced MDA's rural territorial development policy and its application in Bahia which is discussed in greater depth below. These are experimental approaches that in order to succeed require acceptance and commitment by the social movements and by local government across the different territories, in addition to consistent and sustained support from Federal and State Governments. The Jiquiriçá valley was selected as the case study area, as described in Chapter Four, in part due to its status as a *Território de Identidade* and as a region in which family farming predominates, where territorial and related agrarian development policies should have good potential for positive impacts. Chapter Five showed that historically, public policies as a whole have played a significant role in the valley's development, and in its emergence and variegated performance as a centre for market production of a diverse range of agricultural goods. In addition, policies for support to decentralised municipal budgets and social income transfers policies that were extended and consolidated by the Lula government have reduced poverty and vulnerability and further helped to improve the economic position of the valley's population of small farmers and rural workers. Public policy, combined with the valley's linkages to dynamic markets, resulted in the progressive "win-win-win" development outcomes observable in improving census

indicators for income growth, poverty and income inequality up to the year 2000 in a substantial cluster of eleven of the valley's municipalities, including some without any significant productive dynamic of their own. As discussed in Chapter Five, the trends for growth combined with poverty reduction continued and were extended to all the valley's municipalities throughout the 2000 -2010 decade, as social income transfers and federal support to municipal budgets were further extended, although changes in levels of income equality / inequality became more mixed than previously, and although not of great significance, are more difficult to interpret. The findings of a community field survey and interviews with local actors demonstrated that respondents ascribe social and economic improvements to government policies. However informant interviews also suggested that the valley combines distinct underlying development trajectories in which market development and public policies have differing impacts in different sub-regions, due to differing natural resource conditions and social structures, in particular the distribution of land. This was confirmed by analysis of trends in agricultural census and other data, disaggregated by municipality, as discussed in Chapter Five. The impacts of policy were perceived as particularly positive by informants in the municipality of Mutuípe in the valley's forest zone. Owing to the economic stagnation of the semi-arid and former coffee growing areas of the valley, federal financial transfers have been a principal factor sustaining local economies and the livelihoods of the poor.

As shown in Chapter Six, a social coalition that has emerged in the eastern forest zone has been able to negotiate access to new Federal policies in support of rural development programmes. This coalition has also brought about institutional changes which have strengthened social participation and the role of civil society in planning and management of development, through the reform of municipal councils, introduction of participatory budgeting, strengthening of community-based producer associations, and their stronger integration into agricultural markets and value chains. A network of rural union activists, (affiliated to the FETRAF family farmers union federation) the local, state and Federal government officials, NGOs and community leaders now plays a leading role in development of the Territorial Collegiate Forum for the valley, which operates under the Agrarian Development Ministry (MDA) and State Government supported territorial development policies. However the network analysis undertaken demonstrated that the geographical and social reach of this coalition of actors was largely confined to the valley's forest zone, that it did not include private sector actors, and that it has had political

difficulties in engaging with municipal authorities, and indeed with rural unions with different political affiliation in the West of the valley. Investigation also found that implementation of the RTD policies in the valley, and the projects under development by the territorial collegiate under the decentralised *Proinfra* Federal budget line in had made only slow progress and have had only negligible development impacts to date. These circumstances are explored in greater depth in this chapter, focusing on the development of territorial development policies in Bahia, their application in the Jiquiriçá valley, the difficulties encountered in bringing about policy-led institutional innovations and the challenges for public policy that arise within this gradual and contested process.

In what follows in this chapter, first, section 7.2 compiles and summarises the views of local actors on the principle constraints and conflicts in the Jiquiriçá valley's development expressed during the field research. . Section 7.3 then discusses the development and application of territorial development policies in Bahia and their application in the Jiquiriçá valley. Section 7.4, the central part of the chapter, details a set of nine specific difficulties and related challenges for territorial development policies, based on the perspectives of local actors. Section 7.5 discusses these in relation to the findings of recent Brazilian literature on territorial development and institutional change, including findings from other rural territories in Brazil. Section 7.6 assesses local actors' views on priority territorial development issues in the Jiquiriçá valley and possible approaches that might be taken to address them, based on the results of the surveys and interviews undertaken. Section 7.7 discusses the potential and limitations of present public policies for the improvement of territorial governance in Bahia and in the valley specifically. Current policy approaches are evaluated in relation to the actors' priorities and perspectives, and against perspectives, and findings and specific yardsticks proposed by the RTD programme for assessing rural policies in the light of its broader findings (indicated in Chapter Two, p.38 and discussed further below). Section 7.8 closes the chapter by suggesting some potential practical directions for public policy to support more inclusive and sustainable rural development.

A key concern is whether or not these policies are creating new democratic space for citizen participation, thereby strengthening the governance of rural development processes to help achieve shared, sustainable prosperity. Before detailing the development, application and outcomes of territorial development policies and approaches, I first review the actors' views

on the impacts public policies have had in the case study area, and the constraints and challenges they face.

7.2 Actors' views on policy challenges for territorial development

As reported in the previous chapter, local actors ascribe wellbeing and economic improvements not only to agricultural markets but to the expansion of public investment and the active role of the state. During the first phase of field research, the local actors interviewed cited most frequently the public food acquisition programme (PAA) and the PRONAF small farmer credit, alongside the payment of rural pensions and *Bolsa Familia*, and the expansion of these policies under the Lula government as the most significant policy interventions, as discussed in Chapter Five. Informants also referred to the actions of municipal government, especially, but not only, in Mutuípe.

Historically, the construction and eventual withdrawal of public support for the Jiquiriçá valley railway and state coffee eradication policies were considered highly significant, as was the arrival of CEPLAC and its assistance to the development of cocoa farming since the 1960s. More recently, the effects of state government assistance channelled through Municipal Rural Development Councils (CMRDS) was noted, although considered to be unsustainable and susceptible to political manipulation of municipal prefects allied to conservation political networks. Some informants saw the development of Federal and State environmental laws since 2000 to be a critical milestone. State government actors noted the importance of legislation enabling the formation of Public Inter-Municipal Consortia and the progressive territorialisation of state multi-annual planning (PPA) to address locally identified priorities with territorial representation on a participatory civil society monitoring commission.

In the second stage of research, the participants in the network study were asked about their views on the most important constraints and conflicts affecting the valley's development, and the principle issues that they thought needed to be addressed at cross municipal or territorial level. In table 7.1, on the following pages, these constraints and conflicts have been categorised as problems of social, economic or political behaviour, gaps in policy, and / or as problems of incomplete or absent institutional arrangements intended to regulate and manage behaviour. As can be seen the majority of constraints identified involve the absence or

failure of institutions that can help to regulate social and economic behaviour of individual and collective actors and assist in achieving equitable and sustainable development outcomes.

Table 7.1 Informants' views on development constraints and conflicts in Jiquiriçá Valley (28 network study respondents)

Factor	Frequency	Type	Sources and nature of problem
Farmer (and Municipality) indebtedness	9	Institutional - Economic Behaviour	Failure to generate returns from loans and lack of technical capacity of farmers and local authorities. Indebtedness prevents Municipalities from accessing additional Federal funds and continued farmer participation in PRONAF credit system
Lack of Tech Assistance	9	Policy	In addition to an overall deficit of technical assistance, 3 informants cited multiple, conflicting approaches, such as contradictory guidance on organic farming and agrochemical use, and inappropriate extension methods used by CEPLAC for small farmers
Absence of Municipalities from Territorial collegiate	6	Institutional – political behaviour	Political resistance from conservative municipalities and lack of incentives and legal requirements for participation of individual Municipalities in emergent territorial institutions
Deforestation; Associated watershed degradation	5	Institutional - Economic behaviour	Absence of institutional controls on individual farmers behaviour and externalities of existing production models; 1 informant cited inter municipal externalities of deforestation and poor pasture management in Ubaira
Lack of resources for land reform	5	Policy	Lack of land, lack of funding and mechanisms for land reform, and land concentration in higher value areas
Weak market organisation, reliance on intermediaries.	5	Institutional	Lack of skills and capacity for producer associations to establish and manage market organisations; lack of state support to development of farmer organisations
Individualism – weak associations	5	Economic Behaviour	Individualist mentality of farmers reluctance to participate in collective action
Conflicts between STRs and Municipalities	4	Political behaviour	Lack of collaboration and political hostilities between conservative municipalities and PT allied local unions
Rural youth exodus	4	Economic and social behaviour	Rural demographic growth, limited access to land and lack of employment opportunities. Influence of urban and globalised culture and media. Problems are also linked to increases in crime and drug use within rural areas
Agricultural pricing – no quality premia for farmers	4	Institutional – Economic behaviour	Price fixing by large traders and intermediaries: cocoa cassava and passion fruit
Reliance on income transfers	3	Policy; social behaviour	Welfare support and subsidies to municipal government not linked to opportunities for productive income generation
Absence of agro-industries	3	Economic geography and policy	Lack of policy framework for investment and local economic development in rural industries; existing concentration of buyers and processors in other regions
Lack of consultation social, economic and environmental impacts of major private sector investment projects	3	Institutional	Municipal access to investments through lobbying of state deputies and top down planning by state government, not linked to democratic territorial planning. Two respondents from Laje and referred to the Odebrecht cassava production and processing project COOPAMIDO; one respondent from Maracas referred to Vanadium mining and the FERBASA Eucalyptus plantation
FETAG vs FETRAF (PT vs PCdoB)	3	Political	Historical conflicts between rural union movements linked to party political loyalties
Inter-regional tensions	2	Institutional	Domination of territorial initiatives by more localised groups;

Factor	Frequency	Type	Sources and nature of problem
			differing political affiliations of municipal prefects and civil society in different sub-regions; lack of framework to address sub-regional specificities
Overlapping parallel planning mechanisms and Fora	2	Institutional	Failure of state government to resolve linkages and relations between different regional / territorial organisations
Poor pasture management	2	Economic behaviour	Diminishing returns to cattle production on steep slopes, lack of capacity, resources and incentives for improved management
Coffee eradication	2	Policy	Central government policies impacting the valley historically from 1930s – 2000s ; Quality standards in global markets and emphasis on efficiency of large scale, mechanised production in national policy
Water pollution	2	Institutional; Economic behaviour	Weak infrastructure and regulation of sewage outfall, waste disposal and agrochemical run-off into water courses
Lack of concrete action by Territorial <i>Colegiado</i>	2	Institutional	Lack of capacity, resources and legal personality of <i>colegiado</i> ; weak deliberative powers and lack of incentives for actor participation
Insufficient resources for civil society participation	2	Institutional	In municipal councils and territorial collegiate forum (costs of transport etc.)
Bureaucratic processes and delays in PAA, <i>Proinfra</i> , etc.	2	Institutional	Limitations in civil society access to and use of public funds Strong centralised traditions of top down bureaucracy and weak capacity of local actors to negotiate it.
Unsustainable earlier projects in Bahia	2	Institutional	Respondents referred to generation of projects led by municipal prefects under earlier PFL conceived State government projects and targeted at building political constituencies.
<i>Coronelismo</i> vs Democracy	1	Institutional	Conflicting ideologies, mentalities and styles of operation of opposing political groupings and coalitions in the valley
Small farmers vs landowners	1	Economic & social relations	Unequal land distribution and limitations on land access; bias towards large farmers in agricultural policy. Localised conflicts around access to and pollution of water sources due to open access and enclosure and degradation of sources by larger landowners; low wage rates and lack of labouring opportunities
Race and social exclusion	1	Economic and Social relations	History of exclusion and linkage between racial identity and poverty; failure of social movement to represent all minority groups

The lack of incentives and mechanisms to prevent and manage indebtedness of individual farmers and municipalities was the most widely cited problem, as it prevented continuing access to credit. PRONAF – the family farming credit programme, was introduced without any system for assisting or supervising farmers in making repayments, and this was a particular problem in municipalities with large numbers of poor farmers without prior experience of credit schemes or of how to budget for a small scale agricultural enterprise. The problem was strongly associated with a policy problem of government failure to dedicate adequate financial and human resources to farmer extension and technical assistance, to help farmers use credit to support feasible productive improvements linked to

accessible markets, and in making arrangements for repayment. The problem has now been resolved through the “agro-amigo” scheme whereby technical assistance is directly linked to the loans, but during the field research farmers from various municipalities were suspended from eligibility for PRONAF. Similar problems of lack of rules, incentives and sanctions to regulate individual behaviour arose in relation to deforestation, pasture management, and watershed degradation, absence of municipalities from the territorial forum, a lack of attention to linking financial transfers to poor families and municipalities to participation in productive enterprises and local economic development activities, price fixing by intermediary agricultural traders, and lack of incentives for young people to remain in rural areas.

Other institutional problems identified included the lack of technical and organisational capacity in the territorial collegiate forum and at municipal level, under resourcing of civil society participation in municipal councils and other fora, overlapping mandates and geographical jurisdictions of parallel cross municipal bodies, bureaucratization of funding mechanisms, and absence of opportunities to influence the design and location of large scale external investments. Although many of these difficulties might also be considered to be matters of policy the policy problems in question are essentially those of failures to address issues of institutional arrangements and capacity and regulation in programme design. Additional, specific policy problems were identified in the removal of assistance and subsidies for coffee production and the lack of financial resources available for land reform and technical assistance, and a failure to put policies in place to enable the development of agro-industries. Alongside the catalogue of institutional and policy failures identified, informants also pointed to conflicts between interest groups as constraints on development, including the political rivalry between FETAG and FETRAF rural union federations, conflicts between municipalities and the rural unions, racial and social exclusion, and conflicts between traditional paternalistic and modern democratic political paradigms and practices.

7.3 Development of territorial development approaches in Bahia and their application in the Jiquiriçá valley

In seeking to refashion the role of the state in rural areas, Brazil has pursued a range of initiatives which foster greater social engagement and sector coordination, that are territorial

in the sense of being place-centred, albeit originating in different branches of government and operating at various scales including region-wide, municipal, inter-municipal and location specific (Favareto 2009).

The range of recent policies developed and applied under the Lula government, has been reviewed by Bonnal and Kato (2011), including *Territórios de Identidade* (sometimes referred to by the acronym PRONAT – *Programa Nacional dos Territórios*), *Proinfra* and *Territórios de Cidadania* (PTC). This review focused on the policies’ approach to “territorialisation”, or territorial integration; in other words, how they exhibit various degrees of centralised or decentralised implementation and conception of projects, according to rules defined centrally, in conjunction with State and Municipal government, or autonomously by local or territorial actors¹⁶⁷. *PRONAT / Territórios de Identidade* is a policy that promotes territorial projects, and is dependent both on the quality and efficacy of centralised rules, monitoring and support, and on the effectiveness and legitimacy of the projects put forward by territorial actors.

As one of these progressive policy initiatives, the RTD approach introduced by the newly established Secretariat for Territorial Development (SDT) in 2004, was designed to develop stronger “social control” over economic development and infrastructure projects and development planning in general. MDA defines “social control” as:

the element of the process of development management that allows combined social actors access to information about actions and projects underway in the territory in time to analyse if what is happening is what was planned and agreed, if the actions are in fact

¹⁶⁷ Bonnal and Kato (2011) selected 12 policies for analysis, including some of those discussed in this research, notably *Proinfra* and *Territórios de Cidadania* (PTC), as well as Public Food Procurement (PAA), rural credit (PRONAF), Food Security Councils (CONSAD), the National Agrarian Reform Programme (PNRA), and also Rural Education (*Educação no Campo*), the National Programme for Education in Agrarian Reform (PRONERA), the Single Health Care System (SUS – *Sistema Único de Saúde*), rural electrification (*Luz para Todos*), *Proambiente* – a facility to support for civil society payment for environmental services operated by the Ministry for Environment), Local Productive Arrangements (APL – *Arranjos Produtivos Locais* focused on private sector rural enterprise and value chain development), *Um milhão de cisternas* (P1MC - a million water tanks: an NGO-led sustainable rainwater harvesting programme adopted by Federal policy for the semi-arid Northeast). These policy programmes were classified as: a) Deconcentrated - implemented by State and Municipal government under centralised Federal rules; b) Decentralised – with decision making power shared between Federal, State and Municipal levels and greater scope for social participation; c) Policies which promote territorial projects – creating scope for local initiatives within centrally defined rules, including the territorial scope of the projects; and d) Policies conceived at the territorial level, in which activities supported are entirely defined by territorial actors, at different scales, and the state has relatively little involvement. Only *Proambiente* and P1MC, with projects operated by civil society fell into the last category. PRONAT / *Territórios de Identidade*, CONSAD and APL are all policies that promote territorial development projects, of different kinds.

contributing and generating the desired results, and if they are not, to decide what measures should be taken to get them back on track.” (MDA 2005 p7; cited in Delgado and Leite 2011 p.99).

In practice, social control is exercised via greater engagement of civil society organisations in policy consultation and debate, through new arenas established for policy making with representation of different stakeholders, and attempts to build coherence amongst agrarian development and other policy interventions directed towards the rural poor and small scale farmers in different territorial settings through gradual development of planning and policy capacity by Collegiate Territorial Fora.

As explained in Chapter Three, and discussed further in Chapter 6, MDA’s rural territorial development approach involves selective establishment of collegiate planning bodies (*Colegiados*) composed of representatives of civil society, municipal authorities and state agencies from groups of municipalities considered to have broadly common socio cultural identity, economic and environmental features, typically comprising 15 -25 municipalities (MDA 2004, 2006). The programme provided *Colegiados* with limited funding for technical assistance and facilitation of stakeholder engagement, and to enable them to access the MDA/SDT *Proinfra* budget line for development of priority cross municipal projects in each territory. The intention was to switch control of resources for local infrastructure development from control by municipal prefects into broader social control. The *Colegiados* were also expected to draw in municipal government participation and assume a role in joint planning with government agencies and to influence the implementation of rural credit, land reforms and other rural investment programmes. Six rural territories in Bahia were designated following a national process of debate and consultation with farmers, rural workers and land reform organizations conducted by MDA in 2003. Six more were added in 2009.

In promoting place-based policy, multi-sector and cross-municipal coordination, social participation and accountability in public funding, Brazil’s approach appears to meet well the criteria advanced by the RTD programme (Rimisp 2011) for sound territorial policy. *Territórios de Identidade* as meso-scale assemblages of municipalities with shared characteristics, mutual affinities and comprising both rural and urban space present potential for modernization of public governance. Brazil’s 27 States are divided into more than 5,500 municipalities. Bahia alone has 416 municipalities (SEI 2005), but no intermediate level of

government corresponding to economic or natural regions¹⁶⁸. As in much of Northeast Brazil, many municipalities are simply urban centres and immediate rural hinterlands configured around land-ownership and political power historically established by dominant, colonial families. They are generally too small to support a thriving economy and effective local management capacity, a situation typified by much of the Jiquiriçá valley. Sustainable economic development requires strategic planning based on larger territorial units incorporating rural towns and intermediate cities (de Janvry 2003; MDA 2004, 2005). Although a high degree of decentralisation has enabled some municipalities to direct social expenditure towards local priorities with some degree of accountability, as occurred in Mutuípe and Amargosa, political capture of public development finance by local elites is a more common scenario, as explained by informants from Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra and Cravolândia in interviews cited in chapter Six.

A rural territory is defined by MDA as:

A physical space, geographically defined, generally continuous, including town and country, characterised by multi-dimensional criteria - such as environment, economy, society, culture, politics and institutions – and a population of relatively distinct social groups, related internally and externally through specific processes in which it is possible to distinguish one or more elements which indicate social, cultural and territorial identity and cohesion (MDA 2005 p.1 cited in Delgado and Leite p.90) .

This definition was also adopted by SEPLAN, the Bahia State Government Planning Secretariat (www.seplan.ba.gov.br/territorios-de-identidade) .

The main rationale for adoption of a territorial approach by MDA is that rural development is not only about agriculture, that the municipal scale is too narrow for effective development planning whereas the state level is too broad. As a result, there is a need for policy decentralisation to an intermediate or meso-level – the territory – considered as the level most appropriate for articulation amongst different people, social actors and government institutions to take place (MDA 2005, Delgado and Leite 2011). The criteria adopted by MDA for delineation of rural territories include groups of municipalities each with less than 50,000 people, or a group with an average population density of 80 people /km², a high concentration of MDA's priority groups (family farmers, land reform settlements, indigenous or afro-descendent groups, signifying greater “social demand”, groups of municipalities

¹⁶⁸ States have developed their own regional divisions for purposes of administrative planning and resource allocation, frequently based as in Bahia, on the micro-regions designated by IBGE as spatial units for statistical analysis

which have already organised themselves as a territory, which jointly participate in a CONSAD food security council, or which correspond with meso-regions (as identified by the Ministry of National Integration, (Delgado and Leite p.91).

Furthermore, MDA (2006 p.104) views rural territories as “*embryonic projects for sustainable development and democratic participation because they involve, besides production, aspects of culture and identity*” (my emphasis), and thus as emergent phenomena under construction. The MDA official philosophy, drawing on ideas in social geography, views the concept of territory as founded on the cultural identity of social groups and social identification with geographic space. Territorial development is viewed as a long-term approach, part of an extended process of democratization. The principles and methodologies for territorial development processes set out by government emphasise formation of territories and consolidation of collegiate fora as emergent processes involving construction of a shared rural development vision, and leading to incremental steps in planning, project development and monitoring so as to bring rural development under democratic social control (MDA 2004). Echiverri-Perico (2009), an IICA researcher and long term SDT collaborator, describes *Territorialisation* is an emergent, dynamic process involving the recognition of shared identity and the emergence of collective enterprise amongst the local actors as opposed to a top-down technocratic process of *regionalization*, or determination of planning territories.¹⁶⁹ The initial analyses and policy statements which gave rise to RTD policies and programmes in Brazil and in the state of Bahia (MDA 2004, Athayde and Machado 2004) also stressed the emergent character of territory as space which is socially constructed by actors sharing common development activities, values and vision. As such the approach appears to share the characteristics of effective rural territorial development policies as identified by the RTD programme.

Adoption of a territorial approach in Bahia has involved a number of institutional reforms intended to strengthen citizen participation. While the state still remained under conservative political control, MDA sponsored formation of a civil society coordination body *Coordenação Estadual dos Territórios* (CET), which proposed 26 territories covering the

¹⁶⁹ The term *Territorialisation* is used in two senses in the Brazilian and European literature: to describe the progressive construction of social identities in relation to specific geographical areas, or alternatively the progressive territorial integration or grounding and adaptation of public policies and institutions related in geographic space. Arguably, in implicitly asserting that the construction of territorial identity can be policy-led, usage of the term in Brazilian policy elides these two different but inter-related meanings.

entire state. In 2007, a newly elected Workers Party-led government in Bahia appointed a variety of figures from rural social movements to its ranks, and formally adopted all 26 of these territories as planning units. State government proposed to assist in the establishment of *colegiados* and participatory rural development plans in those territories not already assisted by MDA. These included the Jiquiriçá valley which had earlier been identified as a “potentially emergent territory” in an assessment of engagement and performance of local government and social movements in territorial initiatives and development visions (Athayde Filho 2004 p.155). Other significant innovations in Bahia’s governance framework include: the creation of CEDETER, the Council for Territorial Development, in 2010, a deliberative body established by state legislation in 2010, with equal representation of civil society and state authorities, and responsibility for oversight of the 26 territorial collegiate forums across the state; and the use of these same 26 territories as a basis for more accountable development planning and budgeting through the *PPA (Planeamento Pluri-annual) Participativo*. The State government also resourced a process of popular assemblies in each territory to debate priority investments and established CAPP, a monitoring council composed of elected territorial delegates drawn from the *colegiados*.

As explained by Marcelo Rocha, Special Adviser to Bahia’s Secretary of State for Planning:

From one point of view we are institutionally quite advanced in Bahia. We have formed 26 territories¹⁷⁰ and adopted an integrated rural –urban approach; we have the CAPP – the largest civil society representative council in Bahia, and perhaps even in the whole of Brazil with 104 representatives. We have established CEDETER as a centre for formulation and monitoring of territorial policy, and from the very beginning with MDA we have had CET, as a state wide coordination body for civil society, coordinated by a nationally and internationally recognised civil society leader.

7.4 Territorial planning and participation in practice

The assessment of collaborative networks and links amongst social, economic and state actors in the Jiquiriçá valley reported in Chapter Six revealed the limitations of these policies in stimulating sustainable economic development and deepening democratic engagement. Here, I examine in greater depth how the official policy vision of collaborative territorial development has been borne out in practice, through the lens of the Jiquiriçá Valley.

¹⁷⁰ This informant pointed out that soon Bahia would have 27 *Territórios de Identidade*, as a result of the division of the *Territorio do Extremo Sul* (Extreme South) to establish the additional Territory of the *Costa do Descobrimento* (Discovery Coast) in the northern part of the extreme south.

None of the successful practical, productive innovations discussed in Chapter 6 have originated from MDA and Bahia State government's territorial development policies, although the actors involved in successful programmes in the east of the valley are also affiliated to the *colegiado* and have been involved in propagating successful approaches such as the food processing and marketing projects pursued under the PAA municipal food acquisition programme. The *Proinfra* projects for small scale agro-industrial and market development pursued by the territorial collegiate forum remain largely at early stages, hampered by lack of technical capacity, considerable federal bureaucracy and the need to secure collaboration from a municipality or other body with legal authority to receive federal funds and assume management responsibility, which the *Colegiado* itself is unable to do.

During the period in which the field research was conducted in 2009 and 2010, the disappointing record of the Jiquiriçá Valley collegiate forum in organising practical action was reflected in its limited visibility amongst social actors in the valley and growing lack of confidence of those who were more closely engaged.

The idea [of the Territory] was that each Municipality would get a suitable (agro-industrial) project, but people lose interest because nothing happens, it demotivates anyone...there's great diversity in the valley and there needs to be more action....
(Maria Lourença, Rural Union activist in Laje, 5 August 2009)

The *Colegiado* succeeded in obtaining funds for two preliminary set of infrastructure projects in Amargosa and Jiquiriçá, with support from the Municipal Prefects. In mid-2009 the *Colegiado* drew up initial proposals for a second larger set of localised, but cross-municipal, agro-processing and marketing projects to MDA / SDT (see table 6.6 on p.396 in Chapter Six for a summary of the Proinfra projects implemented and under discussion). MDA responded to these proposals slowly, and they suffered from a variety of setbacks, due to a combination of Municipal Prefects failing to support them for political reasons, and certain Municipalities losing eligibility to access Federal funding lines because of accumulated debts to the *Caixa Economica Federal* (the Federal Treasury). At that time, coordination of the *Colegiado* was entirely voluntary and undertaken by the regional CEPLAC Director Dr Celso Weber. He was also Vice Prefect of Mutuípe, understood municipal politics and the lack of incentives for municipal participation and was greatly disillusioned by the non –participation of most municipalities in the *Colegiado*, and by the lack of capacity in civil society to negotiate Federal bureaucracy.

At the beginning of 2010, Maria Lourença, the informant quoted above, was appointed as a full-time paid *Articulador* of the Jiquiriçá Valley *Colegiado*) and when interviewed in in March 2010 expressed greater optimism, reporting having held two collegiate forum meetings with somewhat improved participation. The *Colegiado* had elected new members to its directorial group, adopted a set of internal regulations, and had begun to look at a Sustainable rural territorial Development Plan (PTDRS, one of MDA's and CET's requirements for all *Colegiados*. However, MDA had introduced a requirement for a management and implementation plan for the *Proinfra* projects, which the collegiate was having difficulty understanding and defining. Nevertheless, *Colegiado* members continued to be frustrated. For example, a cassava processing project had been proposed to be located in Sao Miguel, but had been rejected by MDA because the municipality, as the implementing agency, was in debt. Citing more successful projects organised by the unions themselves (specifically the AMAS and PAA projects described in Chapter Six), a local union activist declared:

I am tired of running after the territory; doesn't have force to argue successfully and resource projects. The rural union's own level regional organisation has brought more practical results (Roque, Treasurer of the SINTRAF local union in Sao Miguel das Matas municipality, 13 March 2010).

By the end of 2010 (when my field research closed) none of the second set of territorial projects had been approved, due to failure to observe all necessary MDA criteria and procedures. At that point the complex arrangements for paying the *articulador's* salary and the *Colegiado's* running costs (see discussion of point v. below) had also collapsed. Consequently, meetings had been suspended and she accumulated a personal debt as a result of undertaking incurred on behalf of the *Colegiado*. By the end of 2011, when I undertook a short follow up visit, only one project (for honey production based in Santa Inez) had been approved, but the bureaucratic problems preventing payment of salaries and costs had still not been resolved, and as a result the *Colegiado* had not met for a year.

Some of the leading and technically more qualified people involved doggedly persisted for some time, despite their growing disillusionment:

The people involved discuss a lot but deliberate and decide very little, a situation which discourages the stakeholders. (Raul Lomanto, Amargosa, October 2011)

Based on the findings of the surveys, interviews and reviews of recent policy discussions in the Brazilian literature, the difficulties and constraints encountered by the Jiquiriçá Valley

and other collegiate territorial forum can be organised into a series of nine categories, each of which is explored in greater discussed below:

- i) Lack of representation of the full range of actors, related to the rural bias of the approach;
- ii) Failures to engage municipal public authorities and reliance on municipalities for contractual purposes;
- iii) Existence of parallel, overlapping planning and funding mechanisms
- iv) Weak technical and organisational capacity
- v) Lack of financial and technical support
- vi) Excessive regulation and bureaucracy
- vii) Absence of formal legal personality and inadequate incorporation into broader institutional frameworks
- viii) Lack of capacity building and investment in construction of broader social coalitions
- ix) State abdication of development responsibilities and co-option of civil society.

The constraints encountered in the Jiquiriçá valley identified have much in common with those encountered in other rural territories in Brazil, as reflected in a growing body of critical literature. The discussion that follows draws in particular on findings of a series of studies (Leite and Delgado 2011) undertaken by the *Observatorio de Políticas Públicas* (OPPA) at The Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ) and published by IICA.

7.4.1 Lack of representation of the full range of actors

Brazil's territorial approach has been criticised for ignoring conflict and power relations, thereby enabling more organized groups to dominate, disenfranchising others and leading to a partial project (Leite 2010, Favareto 2006). The state has not grasped that territories need to be seen as fields of conflicting interests (Santos 1992, Rafestin 1993), thus compromising the potential to create new deliberative institutions that could strengthen governance in a genuine way. The absence of clear provision for representation within territorial forums enables specific groups and municipalities to utilize them to regain control over MDA project funding resources.

In the Jiquiriçá Valley, there are a number of different dimensions to this problem. As demonstrated by the network analysis reported in Chapter Six, the Jiquiriçá Valley *Colegiado* has notably failed to engage effectively with municipal authorities and with the private sector, actors whose fields of operation and concerns are predominantly urban – a feature of the rural bias inherent in MDA's territorial approach. This problem has been recognised by MDA and Bahia state government officials assisting territorial development processes; for example:

It was necessary to put the rural at the centre of policies and so it was necessary to involve the rural unions and social movements in a central rolebut today its necessary to involve other segments that aren't rural because public policies are for everybody,... we need to break this current paradigm which is still very strong in the territories (except for the Região Metropolitana de Salvador) and involve other sectors – which also have their connection to the rural. The collegiates emerged from the mission of MDA, its priority target public audience.

(Ana Claudia dos Santos, MDA Delegation in Bahia, 14 December 2011)

The problem is underpinned by the way in which the rural and urban have been conceived historically in Brazilian public policy as a whole. The formal definition of the urban and accordingly the urban centrism of municipalities relegate the rural to a residual space (Veiga 2001). According to Medeiros and Dias (2011), if the rural is regarded as significant at all it is for *agriculture* and the destination of sector policies to raise production or provide social protection of the rural poor, which emanate from urban centres. Even the 1988 Constitution does not provide for rural development or any form of *ordenamento territorial* via land use planning, in the way that it does for urban areas. Although the concept of the rural has changed, legislation and policy have yet to catch up. Moreover a productivist, agro-export and agro industrial model currently prevails in agricultural development, and is a powerful vector of broader development policy. Nevertheless *family farming* is now recognised as a socio-professional category under specific legislation in 2006¹⁷¹, which established guidelines for formulation of national policy on family farming. The concept of family farming in Brazil is associated multiple social practices for example, *extrativismo*, or reliance on natural resource collection, and part time itinerant farming), which as a result does not correspond directly to the standard European view of full time farming households, although these are also present. Nevertheless, the rural is treated in Brazilian policy as a space characterised by conflicts between agro-industrial and small scale family farming models, rather than as a

¹⁷¹ Law No. 11.326, 24 July 2006

more complex mosaic including growing rural towns, a service sector, a large number of part time farmers dependent on multiple income sources and a variety of other types of land and resource users. Instead, rural diversity should influence the new rural policy agenda (Medeiros and Dias 2011).

The private sector was found to be entirely absent from the Jiquirica Valley collegiate forum, and is largely absent from *colegiados* as a whole, although government can claim that this is a result of lack of private sector organisation:

We might complain that the Colegiados are not representative, but in certain territories there are no institutions which represent e.g. the private sector, so they cannot be expected to participate. Ivan Fontes, SUAF, SEAGRI, Bahia State Government, 14 December 2011)

In addition to the lack of representation of the private sector, urbanised populations and minority groups, the *colegiado* has suffered from weak participation from the Western part of the territory and from political rivalries between FETRAF and FETAG-BA rural union Federations, risking exclusion of weaker groups from semi-arid municipalities and those not represented by the FETRAF-affiliated unions. These problems were illustrated by the following comments:

The territorial project is complicated because of the history of dispute between FETRAF and FETAG, with different political and regional affiliations.
(Roque, STR, São Miguel das Matas 23 March 2009)

The discourse of the union is the same as that of the Colegiado and this doesn't involve other sectors, it's a case of a very closed rural network
(Ana Rita Matos, SECULT Oct 2011)¹⁷²

There is no coordination between the movements in the Jiquiriçá Valley, as each one wants to show its strength and this undermines the movement as a whole as each element operates in its own particular way.....The leaders can move up (into policy networks) but are unable to take this power down to a popular level; it's the leaders who hold power, not the people.....The problems for the organisations through which they act is that is that they confound their political careers with the social movement; the limitation of the union movement is that these political tendencies are very marked.
(Ana Rita Ribeiro, MST October 2011)

¹⁷² For this and the next three quotations, interview transcripts were kindly provided by Francisca Meynard Vivar of Rimisp, who undertook a supplementary investigation into the perceptions of local actors and development of the social coalition in the Jiquiriçá valley, on behalf of the RTD programme, for which I provided contacts, advice and guidance.

FETAG have the power of number, the quantity of families and land reform settlements in the valley but they don't have proportional influence because of weak organisation.....FETAG have power but don't know how to use it.
(Ana Rita Ribeiro, MST October 2011)

In the collegiate, the question of legitimacy has not been very well worked out.
(Joao do Vale, Ubaíra rural union activist, October 2011)

Philippe Bonnal (Bonnal *et al.* 2011) a leading collaborator of the UFRRJ Public Policies Observatory frames the problem of legitimacy and representation in terms of the challenges of constructing new institutions that engage effectively with state, market and civil society spheres. In Bonnal's view the implementation of "territorialisation" and the practical outcomes of a policy (such as *Territórios de Identidade*) involve "hybridisation" of the centrally determined policy objectives, procedures and rules with the endogenous dynamics of existing functional political structures, markets and civil society networks, all of which have their own logics and depend on the interaction of actors and interest groups across these fields. The composition and representative legitimacy of the coalitions engaged in territorial *colegiados* can also be analysed from this point of view. As shown in Chapter 6, the Jiquiriçá valley *colegiado* is dominated by a civil society network with its own regional identity and political allegiances, at odds with those of other social actors, notably the FETAG-affiliated unions. Municipal government is not significantly involved although to some degree certain state and federal government agencies are. The private sector is absent and the actors are not engaged in market development through this channel although within parts of the territory, Federal and in some cases municipal programmes are stimulating small farmers' market access and participation. The result is a hybrid *Território de Identidade* which does not conform, geographically or in terms of social participation to that intended by policy.

7.4.2 Municipal control of contractual mechanisms

A principle difficulty in the Jiquiriçá Valley, in common with other territorial *Colegiados*, has been the failure of municipal authorities to engage with the territorial development process. The *Colegiados* are largely reliant on the collaboration and capacity of Municipalities to receive Federal funds for territorial projects, and contract their implementation which the *Colegiados* themselves do not have the capacity or legal status to do. In August 2009 Dr Celso Weber, the regional head of CEPLAC and then *articulador* of the territorial forum expressed great scepticism about effectiveness of Federal programmes

such as *Proinfra*, which required the involvement of local government in implementation. Not only are Municipal authorities generally politically unwilling to contribute, they are also often unable to do so due to an almost complete lack of technical capacity, or through being excluded as a result of being in debt to Federal government, or both, leading to substantial disillusionment with the process:

Proinfra projects must go through Prefeituras, but they are in debt and not entitled to further project funding, and so everybody has given up on the projects.
(Erasmus, President of the *Amargosa Polo Sindical*, Mutuípe 5 August 2009)

In addition to the difficulties of obtaining political support and technical assistance to negotiate the bureaucratic processes of accessing MDA finance, local authorities' priorities are to support projects located within their own municipalities, so as to win votes and maximise political support. As a result they have little incentive to go through the *Colegiado*, preferring to utilise personal and political channels to gain funding for their own priorities through direct liaison between Municipal Prefects, State Deputies and State and Federal Governments officials. As stated by other local actors interviewed during field research:

The resources are there, but the proponent (for Proinfra projects) is the local authority which causes difficulties for us. The process is complicated and people don't understand. Together [as a territorial collegiate] we are stronger... but the local authorities can manage [to obtain funds] by themselves, by going to state Deputies for support. (Maria Lourença, rural union activist in Laje 5 August 2009)

Municipal mayors are preoccupied with vote winning; they are always more interested in getting more votes for themselves in their own municipalities than in developing the territory, and it easier for them to negotiate deals for themselves without going through the colegiado. (Discussion Group held with members of the territorial collegiate forum, October 2011)¹⁷³

In addition to difficulties in mobilising resources for *Proinfra* projects via Municipalities, other projects, in particular large scale private investments proposed or under consideration by state government can be agreed without any reference to territorial colegiados or other representative consultative bodies:

The government itself can pass above the Colegiados and the coordination continues to be along traditional lines, between Prefects, Deputies and Secretaries, or just based on

¹⁷³ Interview transcripts for this and a number of other interviews conducted in October 2011 were kindly provided by Francisca Meynard Vivar of Rimisp, who undertook a supplementary investigation into the perceptions of local actors and development of the social coalition in the Jiquiriçá valley, on behalf of the RTD programme, for which I provided contacts, advice and guidance.

technical studies done by the Secretariats themselves who implement directly. It is a great struggle is to convince the state to go through the collegiate structures. We need to be more emphatic and determined to achieve this.

(Marcelo Rocha, Special Adviser to Bahia's Secretary of State for Planning 14 December 2011)

Large scale projects e.g. Odebrecht (Coopamido) implanted in Laje without talking to anyone – this should go through the “Território” [i.e. the Territorial Collegiate Forum], but things are done in the same way as took place 20 years ago. Even in our own Municipality we don't know anything. The local assembly know nothing about it - just the Municipal Prefect and Secretary for Agriculture

(Maria Lourença, rural union activist in Laje, 23 August 2009)

7.4.3 Parallel planning and funding mechanisms – “innovation by addition”

A broader and related problem in the conception and implementation of territorial policies of which these difficulties are symptomatic is that they pursue “*Innovation by addition*” (Favareto 2006): rather than substitute new rules and procedure for old ones, they have introduced them in parallel, leading to a form of “layering” of different institutional arrangements (Mahoney and Thelen 2010) in which certain actors are able to shop around for institutional mechanisms that suit their needs and interests. Territorial policy is not sufficiently far reaching in that it has superimposed a new set of policy prescriptions on top of many other pre-existing sector and state administration policies, without mechanisms to integrate them or resolve tensions and inconsistencies amongst them. Although *Territórios da Cidadania* programme (PTC, discussed further in section 7.5 below) proposes coordination of sector policies with a territorial focus, acceptance and commitment of sector ministries and agencies is far from complete, and territorial assemblies in fact have no formal jurisdiction over policy. Outside of the PTC program, there are no obligations or incentives to route sector policy through rural territories, while the state also has other mechanisms for cross-municipal planning, and parallel sector initiatives. Although the Bahia State government has attempted to “territorialize” its investments, by targeting spending transparently towards particular locations and making them accountable to civil society through the CAPP, only a small proportion of investments operate in this way, as explained by one of the State Government's its own officials:

Government does not territorialize the greater part of its actions, but implements them in a centralised way for the whole state. Only 15% of the PPA is territorially identified.

State Government has not fully assimilated a territorial approach. There is no system capable of linking [sector policies and plans] with Territorial Development. Various Secretaries and even the Governor are not clear about this process. Naturally there is resistance because territorial development is about the distribution of power. SEDUR (the Secretariat for Urban Development) for instance is not aligned with SEPLAN. The changes in personalities and people occupying political posts can change everything as a result of different political loyalties and interests. There needs to be a strong central, high level understanding of our policy; without this not even SEPLAN can have much influence on other sectors as they are protected by political interests.

(Marcelo Rocha, Special Adviser to Bahia's Secretary of State for Planning 14 December 2011)

Prior to the emergence of territorial approaches, and still now in parallel with them, Bahia's State Government has also pursued more top-down approaches to *Regional economic development*. These approaches have been influenced by thinking in New Economic Geography, and emphasise private sector agglomeration in urban industrial and commercial development poles supported by major infrastructural investment (Porto 2006). Despite the Bahia State Planning Secretariat (SEPLAN)'s adoption of *Territórios de Identidade* the health and education sectors have not modified pre-existing administrative planning regions. SEDUR, Bahia's Secretariat for Urban Development which has lead responsibility for infrastructural and industrial development planning adopts a more top-down city-regional approach, which is not aligned with rural policy. Without a major city, the Jiquiriçá valley has not benefited directly. Investment in the regional centre of Santo Antonio de Jesus has improved accessibility of specialised health care, higher education, industrial goods and administrative services, but has also inhibited the growth potential of local towns such as Mutuípe, as local traders complained when consulted during the survey of traders reported in Chapter Five. In practice some small scale spill-over investments in small scale industrial and infrastructure development (for example a satellite shoe factory in Ubaíra linked to a major enterprise in Santo Antonio de Jesus) have resulted from lobbying by local political leaders, but not as a result of officially adopted regional economic or territorial development policies.

In addition to the broader problematic of insertion of territorial development into existing and constitutionally established institutional arrangements for planning, project execution and political administration, the *Colegiados* co-exist with a variety of other network organisations of territorial scope, discussed in Chapter 6, and with parallel policy initiatives territorialised to a greater or lesser degree (Bonnal and Kato 2011, Favareto 2009), all of which involve somewhat different geographical groupings and configurations of municipalities. Particular

difficulties arise concerning the relationship between the Jiquiriçá Valley *Colegiado* and the public inter-municipal consortium, about which more is said below under point viii), concerning institution building.

These institutional complexities are reflected in the cognitive complexities the actors face. In a situation in which the same actors are called upon to engage in multiple networks, they accumulate overlapping commitments to different initiatives, sometimes leading to genuine confusion and uncertainty about which organisation is doing what and which initiatives they are, or should be, engaged in. For example during interviews, a leading FETRAF union activists for whom both the territorial *Colegiado* and the *Polo Sindical de Amargosa* were key reference points manifested real ambiguity and confusion about which organisation was leading on which activities. Similarly the Mutuípe municipality Environment Director became confused between the Jiquiriçá valley *Território de Identidade* and the river basin management sub-committee for the valley, which includes a different grouping of municipalities, including those from the lower, estuarine part of the valley, and excluding others within the territory which are outside or largely peripheral to the Jiquiriçá river's watershed.

7.4.4 Low technical and organisational capacity

Local union activists and state government officials concurred in the judgement that some of the principal practical difficulties of territorial development have been in the formulation of viable territorial projects and the negotiation of the bureaucracy required to obtain funding support. In order to do this the collegiate forum has relied on the collaboration of municipalities which in most cases are not technically competent themselves to do this:

Local authorities and the state are strong, but the people are weak and need to strengthen themselves. (Roque, STR São Miguel das Matas, 5 August 2009)

The Collegiate Forum reflects and reveals the difficulties that the municipalities already have. At the same time as overcoming the difficulties of the Territory you have to assist the Municipalities themselves to overcome their own difficulties.

(Ivan Fontes, SUAF, SEAGRI, Bahia State Government, 14 December 2011)

The greatest difficulty is when the Colegiado doesn't have any support to help it to develop projects, they also need judicial advice and assistance; there is a great deal of bureaucracy and paperwork involved in project proposals.

(Discussion group with local actors in Mutuípe, Oct 2011)¹⁷⁴

In addition to the difficulties noted in formulating and financing projects for Federal funding under *Proinfra*, the Jiquiriçá Valley *Colegiado* had difficulties in formulating an overall territorial plan for sustainable rural development (PTDRS). Formulation of such a plan is required by MDA/SDT and by CEDETER, and intended to articulate the territorial collegiate forum's vision for territorial development, spanning and integrating both rural and urban areas. The plan is expected to identify priorities for State Government investments in ecaj territory, and to incorporate cross municipal productive projects proposed for funding by *Proinfra*, intended to add value to existing economic activities or introduce new ones. In November 2010 the collegiate developed a partial plan based on diagnostic information from some municipalities and a preliminary debate at a collegiate meeting. As a result of the lack of technical assistance, and absence of key actors, notably local government, the plan was at this stage little more than a listing of problems and the type of programmes or projects required to address them. This draft plan was shared with MDA / SDT and CEDETER, but as the *Colegiado* had no resources to hold subsequent meetings during 2011, it developed no further. At the end of the year CEDETER asked the *Colegiado* to present a more developed plan based on fuller discussion amongst the actors, and to re-elect new technical and directorial committees, as conditions for renewed support from state government. The collegiate was required to improve the plan by including specific action plans organised around key "axes" of development in the valley and to include specific mechanisms for partnerships and coordination amongst the actors.

MDA and Bahia State government officials attach considerable importance to the process and content of the PTDRS plan as an incremental tool for promoting territorial development vehicle. However the collegiate members, without outside assistance had difficulties in strategic prioritisation and in grasping conceptually how to combine the technical and process-oriented elements of a plan required to contain not only proposals for services and projects to be delivered by government, but also innovative partnerships and collaboration amongst local actors.

¹⁷⁴ Interview transcripts were kindly provided by Francisca Meynard Vivar of Rimisp, who undertook a supplementary investigation into the perceptions of local actors and development of the social coalition in the Jiquiriçá valley, on behalf of the RTD programme, for which I provided contacts, advice and guidance.

The great “aglutinador” (binding factor) is the Plan, it’s not just a document, it should be the moment when we “pactuar arranjos” (negotiate arrangements) The plan cannot be a static... but it is a strategic moment to attract attention to the issues. (Ana Claudia dos Santos, MDA Delegation in Bahia, 14 December 2011)

Without workshops to discuss (with technical support e.g. from EBDA, EMBRAPA) each sector just ends up with a shopping list, nothing more. This results in poor integration of projects into strategic plans, organisation of the value chain. The plan is not fixed but something that has to develop continuously. The “prefeituras” need to be involved because they have technicians and social development and health workers who are agents implementing public policies, so they need to be involved for the PTDRS to be consistent. (Robson Andrade, MDA Delegation in Bahia, 14 December 2011)

There is a need for a step change in the quality of Territorial Plans. It is better to have a concise plan in process of regular updating but something that is easier to implement in the short term. We need to overcome the “shopping list” approach, by not only identifying the problems but how to resolve them and who should be responsible for doing what. (Ivan Fontes, SUAF, SEAGRI, 14 December 2011).

At the end of 2011 during a follow-up visit to the field research and interview policy actors at local level, a meeting of key members of the *Colegiado* was called, assisted by myself and a co-researcher from the IFBAIANO campus in Santa Ines. The group decided on a strategy to re-mobilise engagement through canvassing local actors and holding sub-regional workshops to discuss priority needs across different groups of municipalities. Based on these meetings a full meeting of the collegiate was held in January 2012 to elect new officers and further debate the plan to meet MDA and CEDETER requirements with technical assistance from IFBAIANO. Shortly afterwards SEPLAN contracted new *articuladores* for the Bahia Government supported territories and renewed funding for continuing meetings to be held. Ironically, this stop-gap intervention by external researchers, utilising a small scale grant from Rimisp to help strengthen research impact, was required in order to sustain the *colegiado* and enable it to fulfil the technical and political conditions required by its own official sponsors to retain and renew their support in the longer term.

The lack of organizational capacity of the *colegiados* is also connected with their frequent failure to engage effectively with the full range of actors, including the private sector, local authorities, and under-represented marginalised groups is also connected with the absence of actors with adequate “social skill” (Fligstein 2000, Abramovay 2006) to engage them. One of the key weaknesses was the selection as full time coordinators of individuals with

experience and credibility with the rural unions and social movements but not with the full range of actors, and without strong organizational, influencing and networking skills:

The greatest difficulty is with the Articuladores Territoriais – generally they are indicated by social movements and sometimes they are not the best people to do that, they are friendly to the movements but not good to play the role of an overall organiser. (Robson Andrade MDA Delegation in Bahia 14 December 2011)

From the beginning the actions were v. centralised on one person, the figure of the “articulador”, which was a “necessary error” to have someone who mobilised and articulated, but with the passage of time these people became very powerful and they either attracted or drove away other elements; the figure of the “articulador” needs to be disempowered. The Articuladores have to be more open to dialogue, more democratic, and not to bring into it their own ideologies and party political preferences; we need people who are more impartial and more capable. (Ana Claudia dos Santos, MDA Delegation in Bahia 14 December 2011)

7.4.5 Lack of financial support

Financial resources available to *colegiados* for their operation are minimal. MDA / SDT provides some support and assistance to the organisation of 13 of the 26 territories designated in Bahia, but the remainder rely on State government for support.

State government has however had difficulties in formulating a mechanism to enable disbursement of operational funds to keep the territorial forum in operation and for payment of salaries to the *articuladores* for the territories not supported by MDA/SDT. These problems arise because of the lack of formal, legal personality for the *Colegiados*, and because of legal restrictions on the transfer of public funds for purposes of programme execution by civil society organisations. At the end of 2009, SEPLAN established a circuitous administrative channel intended to resource those territories without MDA funding. This involved a *convênio* (service delivery contract) with INGA (the State Institute for Water and Environmental Management; it is unclear why this body was selected as a vehicle for this purpose) which in turn was to pay the *Polo Sindical* for Bahia’s Southern Region to meet the running costs of a number of rural territories, including the Jiquiriçá valley, by direct payments or by reimbursing the articulador or participating organisations for costs incurred. At the beginning of 2011 this mechanism ceased to function and the Jiquiriçá *Colegiado* all but collapsed and was unable to hold further meetings for the remainder of the year, despite continuing government demands for it to mobilize participation for state-wide

planning forums and debates. The *articulador*, was required to organise meetings and coordinate transport for participants and make arrangements for meals and refreshments. However in addition to non-payment of salary, she had to advance her own resources and make personal undertakings to meet the costs and as a result became personally indebted, compounding the problem of non- payment of salary

The Colegiados in Bahia are in a weak financial conditions because of the Convênio which didn't work out, the last parcels were not paid and people got into debt; it was a disaster for us, that the Convênio between INGA and SEPLAN did not work. There are 3 MDA staff in Bahia who have to oversee and orient 26 territories, but only 13 are formally articulated by MDA / SDT; without a formal agreement for assistance from MDA / SDT to the Jiquiriçá Valley Territory, our support can only be indirect and informal. (Ana Claudia dos Santos, MDA Delegation for Bahia 14 December 2011)

The Jiquiriçá Valley collegiate and all 13 territories supported by Bahia State government are almost abandoned and do not have any effective support. (Ivan Fontes, SUAF, Bahia State Government 14 December 2011)

The idea of the creation of Territories is good but there are so many difficulties because they don't function... for example there is now a vehicle for local travel by the coordinator, but there is no driver and not even any resources for fuel or maintenance. (Aloisio Albino, EBDA, October 2011).

The difficulties in making funding available to organisations such as the *Colegiados* which involve innovative institutional arrangements combining government and civil society actors are symptomatic of broader institutional constraints:

Speaking of Territories is to speak of a set of policies of decentralisation, participation, inclusion and democracy. What is lacking is greater execution along clear lines. We have had lots of difficulties because anything that involved passing Federal Resources to civil society was a great institutional taboo, the Procuradores da Republica, and Procuradores do Estado, (Federal and State Attorney Generals offices) and the Ministerio Publico (State authority responsible for maintenance and monitoring of probity and fiduciary responsibilities in public affairs) are very suspicious of these relations; all of our bureaucracy is designed to frustrate things rather than facilitate them. Our governments have not yet been able, for structural reasons and to do with the alignment of forces, to achieve the necessary institutional reforms.... Brazil is still lashed to the pillar of this stupid bureaucracy – we risk losing a lot and we need to have courage and political forces to address this. (Marcelo Rocha, SEPLAN, 14 December 2011)

7.4.6 Excessive regulation

The failure to engage with territorial specificities derives, in part from uniform policy and excessive “*normalisation*”, or regulation: the focus of territorial policy and studies on collective planning methodologies and bureaucratic rules. Most of the documents emanating from MDA / SDT are highly normative in their orientation, providing the *colegiados* not only operational and project finance regulations, but with detailed guidance on developing plans, managing meetings and the overall stages and methodologies for development and management of the territorial collegiate forum. As Abramovay (2007) contends, this “*normalisation*” deflects from causal understanding and engagement with the dynamics drivers of development, and the formation of social coalitions which can drive territorial development effectively. In the Jiquiriçá valley bureaucratic procedures exclude civil society from effective control over development funds, in the absence of professional support.

Two broad sets of normative orientations for territorial *Colegiados* derive from CONDRAF, the National Council for Sustainable Rural Development (Medeiros and Dias 2011):

- a) Attributions and limitations of the *colegiados* themselves as an *instância consultiva de caráter propositivo mas não deliberativa, cabendo essa função ao MDA*. In other words, the collegiates re empowered to make recommendations and prioritise but not to deliberate take formal decisions (for instance on project funding), a responsibility which lies with MDA.
- b) The regulations of PRONAT, which prescribe the operation of the national programme for territorial development centred on the development financing and implementation of *Proinfra* territorial projects.

In these processes, State Government plays an important oversight role through the State Councils for Sustainable Rural Development (CEDRS – known as CEDETER in Bahia) which approve *Proinfra* projects and contracts issues by municipal government for project implementation. The MDA state delegations also play a role in overseeing these. However the complexity of the legislation governing transfer and management of Federal public resources requires considerable technical expertise and time to formulate and implement projects and account for the use of funds – resources which the *Colegiados*, and in many cases, municipalities themselves do not have.

However, in analysing CONDRAF guidelines, the authors did not find reference to the two principle legislative fields which to which they relate: mechanisms for citizen participation and control of public policies; and for admin decentralisation, involving transfer of federal resources for third party implementation of public policies. In effect the regulations governing territorial development in begin have been developed without proper consideration of or revision to the existing legal framework within which they have to operate (Medeiros and Dias p.204), creating practical difficulties in project implementation. The non-deliberative character of *Colegiados* themselves, although they are intended to develop as decision making arenas, creates various impasses. There is a complex set of MDA/SDT regulations for *Proinfra*, (which MDA has legal competence to promulgate and enforce) but the operation of these regulations must be subject to the overall legal framework in force. However without legal competence for management of public resources and project implementation the *Colegiados* end up simply monitoring execution by municipalities. Thus effective territorial development interventions depend essentially on establishing relations, partnerships, agreements and institutional coordination (in which production and management of information is important) which MDA / SDT has to oversee, but that local actors have to implement. This results in various *ad hoc* local institutional arrangements which may or may not be effective, and which are not subject to any sort of central state control, regulation or assistance. Thus in practice Territorial Development interventions have ended up dependent on local social capacity for coordination and political articulation to manage actions which are dispersed amongst various governmental and non-governmental actors (Medeiros and Dias p.207).

7.4.7 Lack of practical support to capacity building and construction of coalitions

Although state government adopted *Territórios de Identidade* for participatory planning purposes, there are no mechanisms or resources to support them or the local organisations engaged with capacity building, professional and management services, training, and enterprise development, despite a range of public and private bodies in Bahia qualified to do so. As expressed by municipal and state government officials:

Government doesn't provide resources to the movements as principle actors in the Território de Identidade, but the level of bureaucracy they have to deal with is very high. (Igor Leal Secretary for Agriculture, Jiquiriçá municipality, October 2011)

*We are making huge efforts at decentralisation and distribute resources but this clashes with the limitations of lack of capacity, professional qualifications, institutional agility and understanding, because the mentality of the municipalities is still "Coronelística". "Coronleísmo" is no longer a hegemonic phenomenon, but it still exists as a form of material and cultural poverty. Here we speak of the need for a "PAC de Formacao"¹⁷⁵ - Brazil is preoccupied in investing in concrete but not in people, This is the principle constraint – preparation and management of projects - this is not clear yet for the authorities. We need to have more dynamic, longer term programmes, with different visions and languages to expand people's mentalities – there are lots of simple people with great potential – so in our program with MDA we have concentrated most resources on education, and to support the logistics of this. The scope and resources are great but implementation will be a challenge - we can't just focus on the current generation of leaders in the *colegiados*, we need to train a new generation of leaders. (Marcelo Rocha, SEPLAN 14 December 2011)*

From the perspectives developed by the RTD programme (Berdegué et al. 2011), and also of research conducted by the UFRJ public policy observatory (Leite & Delgado 2011, Bonnal *et al.* 2011) investment in the capacity of actors to negotiate with others forge alliances with others, at once drawing on social networks and extend bridging social capital, is a determinant element of effective territorial approaches. In practice however Bahia's State Government has not yet managed to provide effective support to the functioning of the territorial *Colegiados* or to the construction of territorial identify in the Jiquiriçá valley, a process which would involve the broadening of the emergent social coalitions in the forest zone of the valley, identified in Chapter Six.

We have noted that there is no "capital social formado" [established social capital] at the level of the "Colegiados" that permits a certain level of organisation, to understand administrative procedures....this causes difficulties.

(Robson Andrade, MDA Delegation in Bahia, 14 December 2011)

¹⁷⁵ The PAC is the "Programa Acelerado de Crescimento" or Accelerated Growth Programme – a flagship Federal programme during the second mandate of the Lula Government. The programme focused primarily on public and private investments in physical infrastructure to underpin accelerated growth.

Although the territorial development philosophy espoused by both STD/ MDA and Bahia's state government was that territories should be regarded as emergent and socially constructed, in practice not all of the 26 territories delineated in Bahia corresponded to regions in which there was a distinct territorial identity and a strong enough social coalition present to mobilize other actors around a coherent territorial vision and agenda. As stated by policy actors in Bahia:

Perhaps there should have been gaps in the map [of 26 rural territories covering the whole of Bahia] in areas where there is no real organisation – but in the end it was decided to incorporate all municipalities within one territory or another in order to help construct a territorial identity. This experimentation results in some fragilities, for example the weaknesses in the Jiquiriçá Valley can be partially explained by this. (Ivan Fontes, SUAF, SEAGRI Bahia 14 December 2011)

7.4.8 Lack of legal personality and failures to address institutional development

The Jiquiriçá valley *Colegiado* remains without formal legal personality and as a result it cannot receive and disburse funds and must rely on the collaboration of other agencies to contract or employ. It has no formal constitution which qualifies it as a deliberative forum; to qualify for government support and to act as an umbrella whereby local coalitions can access project funding it is obliged to adhere to State Government rules prescribed by CEDETER, reflecting the general principles for *Territórios de Identidade* promulgated by SDT. *Colegiados* have limited control and technical capacity to manage funding decisions for a relatively limited and bureaucracy heavy Federal funding line; outside this forum informal networks of municipal prefects and local communities with state deputies, within which patronage-based relations and practices of vote-buying weigh heavily, still offer the principle means to access resources. As explained by the MDA officials responsible for assisting territorial development processes in Bahia:

The actors should assume formal responsibilities, because now we have lots of “informalismo.” (Ana Claudia dos Santos, MDA Delegation in Bahia 14 December 2011)

We have to overcome the bias towards personal involvement and arrive at institutional involvement, because we understand that when institutions are involved the results are much better, but this is not easy to achieveBut those territories with judicial identity have managed to establish agreements with participating organisations that help with

sustainability by covering meeting, transport and other operational expenses. (Robson Andrade, MDA Delegation in Bahia 14 December 2011)

The legal framework for territorial development includes mechanisms for social participation to take place but not to qualify and build social capacity to make participation viable, especially amongst marginalised and under-represented groups. How can legal and management instruments be used to enable Territories to become spaces for broadening of democratic practice? Although the State has a role in stimulating participation, this risks opening space for it to be used as a form of exchange and reproduction of clientelistic practice, and / or exclusion of certain groups. SDT norms instructions for the functioning of the *Colegiados* do not resolve the contradiction of attributing them with a management role when they don't have a legal mandate for decision making and establishing formal relations with government and private agencies. The *Colegiados* are in a "type of legal and institutional limbo which weakens their actions" (Medeiros and Dias 2011 p.210). Legal formalization however would strengthen them as would greater emphasis on their legitimacy in representing the interest of diverse social groups and actors. Without formalisation territorial *Colegiados* would remain forever dependent on a favourable political context, as they are today. According to Medeiros and Dias (2011), and a growing body of rural researcher opinion in Brazil, new rural development legislation is needed to address these problems, as indeed the findings of this research in the Jiquiriçá valley suggest.

A specific set of issues arise in the Jiquiriçá valley concerning the territorial collegiate's relationship to the *Public Inter-municipal Consortium*. As discussed in Chapter 6, this consortium, known as *Mercovale*, is an initiative led by a group of Municipal prefects in the valley. SEPLAN has encouraged the formation of public consortia of municipalities and other public sector agencies to address common issues which they cannot address easily or efficiently on their own. Public consortia are governed by recent state government legislation, empowered with legal personality to contract, receive and disburse funds and are intended to have a consultative forum, while an assembly of representatives of the member organisations plays a deliberative, decision making role. The legislation does not provide for any explicit link with territorial collegiates (because these are not fully legally incorporated), although there seems to have been an expectation in government that such links would naturally arise, or somehow be forged by territorial actors themselves. The current president of *Mercovale* is the Prefect of Planaltino, located in the semi-arid part of the valley; this has

no organic linkage with *Colegiado*, and as a result the two organisations have proceeded along parallel tracks, with no effective link, and some suspicion between the two: one perceived as a creature of (largely conservative) local government, the other of (largely socialist and PT-aligned) civil society. Federal and State government officials now recognise that this situation needs to change:

Public consortia need to be linked directly to the Territories – but perhaps SEPLAN made a mistake in the strategy. I don't see this as a threat but as an advance in the strategy, as a public institution is needed to receive and manage public funds. The Colegiado as organ for social management and the consortium should be the implementing agency – the public consortia's consultative structure (which they are required to have by law) in some cases have the same composition as the Colegiado, effectively marrying the two, but in some cases the State Government sometimes forgot and failed to ensure this linkage. We need to be more emphatic with local authorities, and get the Planning Secretariat to instruct them that there is no going back, you have to get involved [in supporting territorial development processes] as this will be the only way to access resources from State Government, if proposals have been discussed with the Colegiado. (Ivan Fontes, SUAF, 14 December 2011)

The Guidelines from SEPLAN are that these Inter-municipal Consortia should have a consultative forum that would be the Colegiados: so nothing would pass the Consortia that had not passed through the collegiate.. but my concern is that if the Colegiado is not dynamic, the Prefects will configure a parallel mechanisms which would be disastrous... this should be part of the Colegiados' Plans, not to be part of the Consorcio but to have a proper link.. (Ana Claudia dos Santos MDA Delegation, Bahia 14 December 2011)

7.4.9 The state abdicates responsibility for managing policy impacts

By shifting responsibility to incipient groupings organized in “territories” these assume the role of collective actors instead of properly constituted spaces for debate and decision making amongst conflicting interests (Brandão 2007, cited in Leite 2010). The policy emphasis on social identity and articulation of shared vision through a territorial forum, frequently counter-posed to hegemonic bureaucratic or elite development visions, leads the term “territory” as used in both policy and popular discourse, to acquire multiple meanings, referring simultaneously to an administrative grouping of municipalities, an emergent space of democratic debate, and a new form of collective actor.

The Jiquiriçá valley “territory” can be viewed as an extension of government into civil society. As a result of their political alliance with government, the social movements become compromised with implementation of government agendas and risk co-option as voluntary

partners in policy delivery, losing space for independent action and contestation (Cornwall and Shankland 2008):

Sometimes this demoralizes us, an incongruence that does not get resolved: the PT risks falling into traps of a left wing party with a centre-left political project falling into the centre –right because of “acomodação politica” [political accommodation] – the physiology of interests – civil society is aware of this but has also become weaker in challenging this and making demands it because it identifies the government as its own. (Marcelo Rocha SEPLAN, 14 December 2011)

Local actors interviewed were also clearly concerned about the lack of capacity of the rural union social movement to be effective as the lead actor in a territorial development process, and its relationship with the state, as a result of the compromises assumed and loss of critical autonomy in entering into direct partnerships with the state to execute public policies and programmes:

The unions used to be more active, organising marches and protests, today they have difficulties in mobilising farmers and coordinating action of this sort. (Valmir Sousa, Agronomist working with Ubaíra SINTRAF, October 2011)

We need to go back to the streets and make demands (Erasmio Santos, rural union organiser in Mutuípe, 26 July 2010)

Because they [the unions] have become the implementers of convênios [i.e. service providers] it's difficult to retain critical capacity; the government is very strong and knows very well how to get the movements to give up this capacity. (Fernando Oititica, FASE, Oct 2011)

The leadership of the new State institutions (CET and CEDETER) comes from the movements but they are preoccupied with politics, they are focused on Salvador, and aspire to get political posts there. (Discussion group held with local actors in Mutuípe Oct 2011)¹⁷⁶

The close connections between the movements and political parties compromise their critical capacity. (Raul Lomanto October 2011)

The unions just have a political role; they don't have a role in dynamising markets because they don't have technical support. (Washington Luis Almeida, Family farmer and organiser of beekeepers association, Santa Ines October 2011)

¹⁷⁶ Interview transcripts were kindly provided by Francisca Meynard Vivar of Rimisp, who undertook a supplementary investigation into the perceptions of local actors and development of the social coalition in the Jiquiriçá valley, on behalf of the RTD programme, for which I provided contacts, advice and guidance.

7.5 Local difficulties in broader context

In this section some of the findings of research undertaken into the operation and performance of territorial development policies in other rural territories in Brazil are discussed. The rural union movement in Mutuípe and neighbouring municipalities was at the centre of this collegiate territorial development project for all 21 municipalities of the Jiquiriçá valley. However it suffered from a lack of technical capacity, bureaucratic difficulties in accessing state funds, and low participation by municipalities, as most prefects perceived it as a political attempt to undermine their power. The attempt by the state to extend the development of a progressive coalition beyond its home area was over ambitious, as it had no strong socio-political base in grass roots organisation beyond a small number of municipalities, and given multiple development trajectories in the valley. Government has also failed to institutionalise the *Colegiado* as a legal body or to provide it with technical and management support.

In their review of the territorial integration of progressive policies that were developed under the Lula government that target rural areas, Bonnal and Kato (2011) identified *Pronat* and *Territorios de Identidade* as policies promoting territorial projects operating under centralised rules¹⁷⁷. These rules include the centralised definition of which municipalities are to comprise rural territories. As has been shown in Chapters 5 and 6, although definition of the Jiquiriçá valley as a rural territory was based to some degree on considerations of common territorial features, it was also rather arbitrary, in so far as the dynamics of the forest belt and the semi-arid region are completely different, and the dominant social coalition in the collegiate forum is not representative of the component municipalities as a whole. Bonnal and Kato found that the success of this, and of other similar policies (such as CONSAD and *Arranjos Produtivos Locais*) in promoting effective territorial development processes, depends on the quality and realism of the central rules applied, and the effectiveness, legitimacy and relevance of the projects proposed by the local actors, in addition to the efficiency of project appraisal, finance, supervision and monitoring procedures. As was clearly the case for the Jiquiriçá valley *Colegiado*, all of these policies were found to have faced challenges in enabling the release of central financial resources to local actors.

¹⁷⁷ See footnote 1 on p.292 in this chapter for a full explanation of how the study by Bonnal and Kato (2011) assessed and categorised public policies.

As discussed earlier, various limitations have underpinned this problem, not least the lack of realism of the territorial development policy itself in prescribing somewhat arbitrary territorial boundaries within which it sought to build a broader territorial coalition based on a more localised coalition which had neither good legitimacy across the territory as a whole, nor adequate technical capacity. Key problems have been the failure to provide for any sort of legal personality or incorporation for the *Colegiado* itself, or for clear institutional arrangements whereby it can work alongside other innovations for territorial development, notably the public, inter-municipal consortium. In addition the rules and regulations that the members of the *colegiado* have had to grapple with in developing territorial projects are complex, and the support and assistance provided by both Federal and State Governments have been clearly inadequate.

Territórios da Cidadania

Before discussing other particular cases, some further detail is provided on Brazil's *Territórios da Cidadania*, or "Citizenship Territories" programme, as most of the other cases reported by the Brazilian literature, but not the Jiquiriçá valley itself, were associated with this programme. *Territórios da Cidadania*, attempted to institute mechanisms whereby local actors could engage directly with the implementation of a wide range of sector policies at a territorial levels, through the territorial collegiate fora. While *Territórios de Identidade* remains a sector-led and oriented towards peasant and family farming sectors, the approach stimulated broader policy interest and In 2008 Federal Government announced an expanded national programme, *Territórios da Cidadania* (referred to as PTC), which achieved presidential support. PTC was designed to promote "*economic and universal basic programmes for citizenship via a sustainable territorial development strategy [in which] social participation and integrated actions by Federal, State and Municipal government are fundamental*" in some of the most disadvantaged rural territories across Brazil¹⁷⁸. Through the PTC, not only MDA but multiple Federal Ministries and agencies sought to coordinate their work with a territorial focus, by targeting the territories concerned and working with the territorial *Colegiados* that had been established with MDA support. Details of the programme are summarised in Box 3, overleaf.

¹⁷⁸ Government's official definition of the programme. See: <http://www.territoriosdacidadania.gov.br/dotlrn/clubs/territoriosrurais/one-community>

Box 3: The *Territórios da Cidadania* Programme (PTC)

PTC is a programme that emphasises on poverty reduction and conquest of citizenship in a territorial context. Twenty two Ministries are involved, requiring coordination across government at the Federal level, not only within the territories supported. The programme has high level support and was coordinated by the *Casa Civil* of the Presidency. It involves redistribution of existing sector budget resources in favour of rural areas, in particular for participating Territories. It includes activities supporting Sustainable Production, Rights and Social Development and Infrastructure (the three largest budget lines), and also secure land tenure; education and culture; health; sanitation and access to water and support to territorial management. 60 *Territórios de Cidadania* were declared in 2008 and a further 60 in 2009.

The PTC was concentrated in the Northeast which included approximately 50% of the territories, municipalities and financial resources involved in the programme. Funding is disbursed directly by the sector ministries, and directed towards the territories according to potential spend, population levels and sector-based needs assessments. Activities were coordinated according to plans agreed amongst the sector ministries themselves and discussed with the territorial collegiate fora. If planned activities were not undertaken, the Ministry would lose the funds allocated, a rule that did not strengthen “territorialisation” of policies and projects, encouraging the Ministries to devote fewer resources to the programme rather than more, and favouring better organised territories where participating organisations were able to plan and implement activities effectively. The Ministries of Agriculture and National Integration committed only 13% of their budgets. For major budget lines financial execution was approximately 40 – 80%, but over 100% in the case of the Ministry for Social Development, as the disbursement of grants for *Bolsa Família* and other welfare payments which formed part of the programme did not depend on contracting service providers.

For the PTC, the composition of the directorates of the *Colegiados* was changed to become “*paritário*” with equal representation of civil society and municipal government, instead of the 2 to 1 civil society to local government ratio in the *Territórios de Identidade*. Given the level of Federal resources directed through the programme, clear incentives were created for local government participation. The *Colegiados* had four functions in the PTC: “social control” (monitoring and accountability), mobilisation and articulation of social actors; consultation on policies and plans, and deliberation or decision making in directing sector programme spending, although the last two components had very little budget share. However the overall management support budget for the *Colegiados* remained low, at approximately 0.1%, reflecting low prioritisation of capacity building for territorial actors. In the first year, 2009, management support spending was very low, and little territorial level planning and capacity building took place, due to delays in renewing contractual arrangements between MDA and the *Caixa Economica Federal* (the Central Bank). Nevertheless financial execution of budget lines was better (on average, double) through PTC than through isolated sector programs. This might be attributed to the importance attached to the programme by the Presidency, and the fact that the territorial *Colegiados* involving civil society had a deliberative role in directing and prioritising priority spending, instead of centrally determined plans and budgets agreed with municipalities.

(Source: Leite and Wesz Junior, in Leite and Medeiros 2011)

The association of territory and citizenship in policy discourse is symptomatic of policy aspirations in government, in that territorial development forms part of broader, longstanding efforts in Brazil to establish more decentralized, deliberative democracy and to strengthen citizen participation in planning.

Research undertaken by the UFRRF policy observatory (Leite and Medeiros 2011) included a comparative study of rural territories utilising bibliographic research and in depth interviews with 72 actors in three territories that participated in the PTC programme, each located in a different major region (Northeast, South and Amazonia), reported by Delgado and Leite (2011). Although each case has its own specificities, they all exhibit similar underlying structural and institutional problems to those encountered in the Jiquiriçá valley. In all the cases studies, participants regarded the level of administrative technical support available to the *Colegiados* to be insufficient. They had also all come to realise that active engagement by local government was necessary for territorial development.

In *Borborema* in the State of Paraíba, three main civil society groups were involved but the private sector was absent. Similarly to the Jiquiriçá valley, the driving historical force had been rural union mobilisation (in this case in the 1990s) and the formation of a *Polo Sindical* which also extended to a neighbouring territory. A history of union coordination with NGOs in Paraíba had provided experience in using participatory methodologies and generated interest and agroecology. This combined with contemporary Federal policies for family farming development in the semi-arid region of Northeast Brazil, and the linkages that social movements had developed with state actors provided the basis of the *Colegiado's* territorial development vision. Political opposition from municipal authorities however, and the *Colegiado's* lack of legal personality of itself frustrated development and implementation of territorial projects.

Noroeste Colonial in the State of Rio Grande do Sul was established as a rural territory in order to accede to the PTC programme, as a region with a high incidence of poverty and social demand for territorial approaches from civil society, but which had no prior history as a *Território de Identidade*. To meet the criteria for PTC in terms of population numbers and density, and incorporation of all target groups, required fusion of two regions which had previously formed regional development councils under Rio Grande do Sul State government policies. Although the initiative was driven by civil society, in association with MDA, the social movements had been marginal to the earlier regional councils. This situation led to

fragmentation and weakening of the new institutional arrangements, which were not supported by an effective coalition across the territory as a whole, opening up space for rent seeking and resource capture by certain actors. Municipal and State government participation was low and there was no effective investment by Federal Government in territorial coalition building.

In *Baixo Amazonas*, in Pará State, rural union mobilisation and linkages with government were also important. A Workers Party-led state government which took office in 2007 integrated social movement activists into state government, and unlike Bahia, established regional development units which adopted a territorial approach and tapped into the Federal *Arranjos Produtivos Locais* programme to promote economic development. Although Municipalities were largely opposed to collegiate led territorial development, the state government strategy was to reactivate the older Municipal Sustainable Development councils as a practical link between local government and the territory, and ensure that territorial projects were approved at this level before being submitted for formal approval by the *colegiado* itself. These approaches also generated private sector engagement, although development models to be pursued were hotly debated and differed across the territory, according to their different proponents. This case illustrates the importance of state government support and the need for a coherent strategy for territorial development with technical planning assistance at the meso scale. Nevertheless, and despite the territories status as a *Território da Cidadania*, the territorial development process was largely disconnected from independently planned major Federal infrastructure development in the state which promised to have enormous impacts.

The *Carriri Paraibano*, a neighbouring territory of Borborema in Paraíba in the semi-arid Northeastern *Sertão*, was another Brazilian territory where the development dynamic was investigated by the RTD programme (Favareto *et al.* 2012). Composed of 29 different municipalities, it faced similar difficulties to those identified in Borborema and in the Jiquiriçá Valley. In common with much of the *Sertão*, and the semi-arid parts of the Jiquiriçá valley, Cariri suffered from extremely unequal distribution of land, and the rural economy was devoted to production of primary agricultural goods, including cotton and livestock, but with little value added or linkages to contemporary dynamic markets. Following decline of cotton and cattle production, efforts by SEBRAE to establish a combined inter-municipal approach to rural development the *Pacto Cariri*, involving the municipalities and focusing on milk and goat production succeeded in generating new opportunities for small farmer and

land reform based producer associations marketing milk products to dairy facilities developed by the younger generations of the territories traditional land owning elite. This failed however to introduce fundamentally new productive arrangements and opportunities. The unequal structure of land-ownership remains largely unaltered and the traditional landowning elites remain the dominant political coalition in most of the municipalities. As a result the territorial *colegiado*, despite the participation of rural social movements, has achieved little in the way of productive innovation, is vulnerable to resource capture by the strongest groups, and remains a largely redundant institutional innovation, out of step with the established social structure. In this context, as in much of the *Sertão*, the rural population remains highly dependent on state income transfers and welfare payments, with scant prospect of achieving sustainable livelihoods in the absence of a new cycle of public policies focussed on new productive arrangements linked to environmental regeneration (Favareto *et al.* 2012)

In addition to the need for coherent approaches led by state government to territorial development approaches, noted in the Jiquiriçá valley and a number of these other cases, another problem encountered is the lack of integration of Federal territorial development policies into approaches adopted by State Governments which have already established strategies and institutional arrangements to address territorial, regional or meso-scale development. The lack of integration is exemplified by the remarks presented below, made by Brazilian researchers at a workshop held at the International Rural Studies Association (IRSA) conference held in August 2012:

Pernambuco already has its own successful programme, “Territórios Produtivos”, and state government does not want to know about MDA / Federal territorial policies.

In Rio Grande do Sul, the problem is that Federal territorial development policies arrive ready packaged and we have to work to adapt them to local conditions and institutional arrangements the state has been actively developing”.

The current PT-led government of President Dilma, elected at the end of 2010 has not renewed support for *Territórios de Cidadania* although the territories that participated in the programme remain the focus for an alternative, but more limited set of sector-based, mainly agricultural programme interventions intended to address rural poverty and productive inclusion, by strengthening food security and small scale family farming through expanded municipal food purchase, and improved seed and input supplies. Territorial development as such now remains the provenance of MDA and as such retains a sectoral perspective dependent for longer term success on uptake by State Governments, although a host of other

programmes continue to be territorialized in different ways. As noted by Favareto (2012), Brazil still has no overall rural development strategy. The Ministry of Agrarian Development's policies alone appear to have limited relevance and appeal for actors and agencies not directly concerned with small scale farming; despite their partial success in actor mobilisation this is largely restricted to coordination of social movements with government to improve delivery of agrarian policy and other policies and programmes which impact directly on MDA's agrarian "constituency. The rhetorical emphasis in policy discourse on social control and participation through the *Colegiados* has tended to obscure the responsibilities of government in managing conflicts of interests amongst actors, notably those between social movements and the conservative *ruralista* lobby, constituting territorial fora as genuinely representative bodies, and ensuring formal linkages with higher level, top-down, sector policies, which continue to predominate in practice (Favareto 2012).

7.6 Cross-municipal issues and territorial integration in the Jiquiriçá valley

Returning to the Jiquiriçá valley itself, this section explores local actors' perspectives on territorial issues to be addressed. In the interviews undertaken as part of the network study reported in chapter Six, informants were asked about their perceptions and prioritisation of common territorial issues that in their opinion needed to be addressed at a cross-municipal level. The responses were grouped into sector categories and the frequency of responses from different groups of informants recorded. Table 7.2 (overleaf) details the topics identified and the frequency with which they were raised by different groups of informants.

While remarkably convergent, the 28 responses obtained showed some variation across the different groups. Given the agricultural vocation of the valley and the engagement of many informants in the sector it is not surprising that agricultural development was the highest priority issue overall, emphasised by informants from all groups. Improved delivery of technical assistance to farmers was the most frequently mentioned specific point. Environment emerged as a high priority, especially for civil society and state actors. So too did education, especially technical and professional education, notably for civil society and private actors.

Table 7.2 Ranking of issues to be addressed at a territorial cross municipal level, and frequency of specific points identified by network survey informants (28 respondents)

ISSUE	FREQUENCY ¹⁷⁹	Specific points and frequency mentioned
AGRICULTURE 18	5 CS 5 Pvt 5 State 3 Local Gov't	Technical Assistance 10 Associations & Coops 3 Market access by family farmers 2 Local Purchasing 2 Agriculture general 2 Ecological Agriculture 2 Support to land reform support 1 Relevant practical agricultural research 1 Agricultural Diversification 1 Stronger Municipal Capacity 1
ENVIRONMENT 16	5 CS (details?) 4 Pvt 5 State 2 Local Gov't	Deforestation 4 Recycling and waste management 4 River Jiquiriçá/ river basin management 3 Environment in general 3, Environmental Education 1 Water sources protection 1
EDUCATION 16	5 CS 5 Pvt 3 State 3 Local Gov't	Tech- Professional Education 8 Education in general 6 Higher Education 1, School Transport 1 Urban peripheries 1
AGRO INDUSTRIES 14	2 CS 5 Pvt 5 State 2 Local Gov't	Fruit products 6 Cocoa factory & other Pro-Infra projects 2 Policies to attract industry and Ag Industrial Pole 2 Dairy & Meat value chain 1
PVT SECTOR AND ENTERPRISE DEV'T 13	6 Pvt 5 State 2 Local Gov't	Enterprise Development 2 Trade Organisations 2 Local purchasing 1 Infrastructure for industry 1 Equipment for craft industries 1
HEALTH 9	2 CS 2 Pvt 5 Local Gov't	Specialist and Emergency Care 5 Health in general 4
TOURISM 9	2 Pvt 5 State 2 Local Gov't	Rural tourism 4 Tourism in general 2 Local heritage 1
YOUTH 8	3 CS 4 Pvt 1 State	Youth in general 2 Rural Exodus 2 Sport 1 Drugs 1
ROADS 3	1 Pvt 2 Local Gov't	Local roads network 3
PUBLIC SECURITY 3	3 CS	Public security and crime prevention 3
OTHERS	3 Local Gov't 1 State 1 CS	Social Care 2; Women's Affairs 1; Electricity 1; Rural technology 1; Literacy 1; Culture – municipal capacity 1 ; Housing 1

¹⁷⁹ This column refers to frequency with which different issues were raised by different group: *CS* refers to respondents from civil society organisations, *Local Gov't* to politicians and officials from local government, *Pvt* to private business people, and *State* refers to Federal or State government employees.

Private sector informants stressed the need for private sector and enterprise development, especially development of agro-industries, and these questions were prioritised almost as highly by government informants. While the importance of developing agro-industries gained some recognition from civil society informants, private sector development did not. Private business people also tended to stress the need for attention to problems facing local youth, civil society also considered these to be important, and were also concerned with security and crime in rural areas. State and Federal government actors saw some potential in a collaborative territorial approach to development of rural tourism. Local government informants gave some recognition to the full range of issues as having a cross-municipal dimension, but health care was the most frequently mentioned.

Informants were also asked which organisations they thought should collaborate more closely with other actors in development of the valley. The response from different groups of respondents are summarised in Table 7.3 overleaf. The majority, 15 respondents, including nearly all respondents from civil society and state or federal government, felt that the Municipalities as a whole should be more engaged. Whereas a few informants from local government agreed, all respondents in this group felt that it was primarily state and federal government agencies that should be engaged. The majority also felt that various different state government players needed to be more engaged, and informants cited a variety of state government secretariats and agencies. Civil society informants noted particularly that State government secretariats should focus policies and programmes territorially, and maintain a stronger presence in the valley. In line with the concern about the deficit of technical assistance and coordinated approaches to the valley's agricultural development, CEPLAC and EBDA were most frequently identified by all groups of respondents as the agencies that should be more systematically engaged in collaboration for territorial development.

Various informants noted the absence of higher education institutions and those from civil society and state agencies in particular wanted to see closer involvement in territorial development from higher education institutions in the region. Some respondents from state and local government informants thought that the inter-municipal consortium should collaborate more, but informants affiliated with the rural unions tended to regard this consortium with some suspicion, preferring to see the *Colegiado* as the primary institution for territorial development. Some private sector informants and one from civil society noted the

absence of any form of organised representation by the private sector and wanted to see private sector trade organisations playing a more constructive role.

Table 7.3. Informants' views on which organisations should collaborate more closely for development of the Jiquiriçá valley (28 respondents to the network survey)

Type of organisation	Civil Society (7)	Local Gov't (7)	Private Sector (6)	State & Federal agencies (8)	ALL (28)
Municipalities	5	2	2	6	15
State Government Agencies ¹⁸⁰		7	1	2	10
CEPLAC	3	2		3	8
EBDA	3	2	1	1	7
State Government Secretariats ¹⁸¹	5		1		6
UFRB	3			2	5
IFBAIANO	1		1	2	4
Inter-municipal consortium		1		2	3
CDLs / trade organisations	1		2		3
Rural Unions				2	2
Community Associations	1				1
FASE (NGO)	1				1
Teachers organisations	1				1
CONSAD		1			1
Banco do Brasil		1			1
IBAMA		1			1

The network study respondents were also asked what kind of mechanisms could be adopted to strengthen actor engagement and collaboration in territorial development, and those who were more engaged in territorial networks made practical proposals. Responses are summarised in Table 7.4, overleaf. Most of the responses focused on institutional development and changes that could be made. The principle suggestion was for a more solid and representative territorial governance institution involving an expansion of the existing collegiate body and the inter-municipal consortium and development of formal links between the two.

¹⁸⁰ COELBA, EMBASA, IMA, DIRES, DIRECs

¹⁸¹ SEAGRI, SEMA, SEDES, SEDUR, Ministério Público

Table 7.4 Mechanisms to strengthen territorial integration and coordination suggested respondents to the network survey

Type	suggestions	Frequency	Specific comments
Institutional changes 20	Increased Technical capacity of Territorial Collegiate / Consortium	4	Direct collaboration by universities and government research centres
	Sector coordinators from State Government at Territorial level	3	- Public Policies should really be implemented at territorial level
	Expanded collegiate / consortium to include other elements e.g. <i>Educavale</i>	6	-Direct links between the <i>Colegiado</i> and the intermunicipal Consortium
	Territorial Political Representation	2	-“Territorialise Government Institutions – declaring territorial divisions is not enough”
	Fora/ opportunities for Inter municipal sector coordination: Ag, Ed Health etc.	3	
	Smaller, identity-based territorial units	1	
	Representative Trade organisations	1	
Focus Projects 9	Create an Industrial District	4	,
	Coordinated trade and industrial development	2	
	Specialisms in each town		
	Coordinated Agriculture Program	2	Practical agricultural training
Stronger actor engagement 5	Systematic inclusive workshop and debating process	3	Non-political Multi sector and valley - wide
	Closer engagement by State agencies	1	
	Stronger engagement by Church	1	
Attitude change 4	Put regional interests first	2	
	Overcome individualism	1	
	Inter-agency team work at community level	1	

Various informants also stated that these inter-municipal bodies also needed to have increased technical capacity, and closer engagement of higher education institutes and universities with the *Colegiado* was suggested, to focus research and professional training on territorial needs. Other suggestions included the direct presence in the valley of state government secretariats from different sectors to enhance the territorial focus of policies and programmes, and the creation of fora for inter-municipal collaboration in different sectors,

following the example of *Educavale* (an initiative of the inter-municipal consortium). The possibility of reorganisation of regional administrative directorates for Health, Education and other sectors so as to correspond better with territorial boundaries was mentioned. A formal mechanism for collaboration amongst municipalities and state agricultural agencies was suggested to manage sustainable agricultural development in the valley, including a practical programme of agricultural training for young people. The idea of direct territorial political representation and accountability of delegates to the State assembly was mentioned by two people, referring to on-going policy debates about this within the governing party.

One respondent felt that re-organisation of the territory into smaller units with stronger local identities was required. Throughout the research, this had been a recurrent theme and various participants in the *Colegiado* had suggested that the territory should be organised around local “poles”. Although not advocating abandonment of the idea of the valley as a territorial unit, at least three different sub-regions were identified by survey participants as having strong common features and links, within which practical collaboration could be organised and shared infrastructure and equipment put in place. In practice a similar approach has also been proposed by *Mercovale*, the inter-municipal consortium, which has pursued the idea of facilities for road maintenance, refrigeration and waste management being shared by three groups of municipalities within the valley).

Some private sector, municipal and government respondents advocated the idea of focus projects for regional and local economic development, such as creation of an industrial district in the valley, and the strengthening of local agro-industrial specialisms in different towns. Some respondents focused on the need to improve processes and mechanisms for actor engagement, in particular the idea of a territorial level institution holding much broader and more inclusive consultations and debates. Some felt that a process of attitude change to overcome narrow municipal and individualist perspectives was fundamental in achieving greater collaboration amongst the different actors.

7.7 Conclusions: constraints and possible directions for policy renewal

As shown in previous chapters, in the context of the differing social structures and dynamics of market development in different parts of the valley, public policies and investments have had varied impacts in different parts of the valley. In its forest zone, the predominance of

small scale farmers and a history of social mobilisation by the Catholic Church and the FETRAF-affiliated rural union movement, have led to the emergence of a social coalition which has actively engaged with and applied new Federal policies to achieve a range of institutional and productive innovations absent elsewhere in the valley. This coalition has actively engaged in the *Território de Identidade*, a politically-led attempt to establish a new institutional arrangement to strengthen territorial governance through direct involvement of civil society. This initiative has had only very limited impacts however, and the Jiquiriçá valley territory comprising 20 municipalities, as defined by MDA/ SDT and the Bahia State Government does not in fact conform to the idea of territory as a geographically bounded but socially constructed space with a common identity.

With a few exceptions, public policies impacting on the development of rural areas have been centralised and top-down, and lacking in mechanisms focused on “soft” social and institutional factors capable of catalysing economic development, for instance by strengthening capacities, skills and leadership for collective economic action and improving access to markets, productive assets and skills for the local economy. Although public policy has stimulated market development in the Jiquiriçá valley in different ways, and opened up opportunities for greater social inclusion, and the PAA public food acquisition programme has sought to establish new marketing opportunities for small scale farmers, there have been no explicit attempts by government to broaden access to mainstream agricultural markets by fostering producer organisations or intervening in the markets themselves. There have also been no efforts to link federal financial transfers to the poor and federal support for municipalities to local economic development. There is a high dependency of municipalities and the poorest groups in the population on continuity of public policies in providing financial transfers, but an absence of strategies and institutional mechanisms to link social investment by the state with economic renewal. In addition, policy has also been largely unable to change farmer behaviour in relation to natural resource degradation, although increases in central monitoring and enforcement have had some impact on deforestation, and environmental awareness and interest in conservation farming have increased in civil society as a result of uptake of a sustainability agenda by NGOs and the rural union in the region. The social, economic and environmental transformations confronting the Jiquiriçá valley and its people demand the development of new capacities, to complement on-going social programmes and to avert the growing risk of dependency on federal financial and income transfers.

Agricultural policy has been sector-led, top-down and focused on maximising output and safeguarding quality of particular commodities, without regard for the territorial impact and development of the value chain. Support for family farming has, positively, concentrated on sustaining and improving livelihoods, primarily through the PRONAF family farmers' credit programme, and a various other MDA initiatives including support for land reform and for preferential public purchase from small scale farmers, but not however on fostering greater capacity and market engagement. The potential of farmers' organizations and private enterprise have been largely neglected in State and Federal territorial policies, which indeed do not incorporate any sort of local or regional economic development strategy oriented towards rural areas. Without policy incentives and interventions to facilitate development of agricultural value chains, such as the establishment of innovation platforms involving rural unions, farmers organisations, extension workers, traders, processors and other value chain actors, the thriving local agro - processing and marketing sector to which the rural union movement and the territorial *Colegiado* aspire is unlikely to emerge, beyond its present very small, dispersed and artisanal scale.

The impacts of public policies have been most positive when local government is pro-actively engaged in promoting synergy between provision of infrastructure, service and credit, training and capacity building for enterprise development, and market development, as occurred in Mutuípe. This has enabled community enterprise to develop independently of continuing state support and public procurement. However this has been localized and limited in scale, dependent on specific conditions in which collaborative linkages have emerged amongst local actors; as such the outcomes that this has had are not specifically discernible in census data and available development statistics. Even within the forest zone of the valley, the development trajectory remains strongly dependent on continuity of state policies and the social coalition that has emerged is reliant on access to external technical and management skills and would require direct collaboration of external actors with professional capacity, knowledge and resources to assist local actors in establishing a more diversified sustainable economic development strategy that would be resilient in the face of exogenous change in global markets and national policies.

The introduction of territorial development policies creates space and opportunities for actors to collaborate in new ways to develop a vision and plans for more inclusive and sustainable

development of the valley, together with institutional and productive innovations in which improved technical assistance, marketing arrangements and sustainable practices in farming, together with small scale agro-industrial development are high priorities. However the existing coalition at the centre of the territorial collegiate forum has limited technical capacity, organisational skill, breadth of social capital to accomplish this, and government has not devoted resources or policy attention to realising its potential. Moreover the *Colegiado* is not geographically representative of the valley as a whole, or a legitimate representative of the full range of actors, as local government and the private sector are largely or wholly absent. There is a mismatch between the underlying development processes underway and government's approach to territorial development, which treats the valley as a single territorial unit.

Administrative designation of the territory has been somewhat arbitrary and linked to the role of specific interest groups allied to government. Although government officials recognise that the territory may well be too large and heterogeneous, they stress the importance of maintaining centralised bureaucratic control of territorial development processes within which local actors themselves must utilise the framework devised by government to come up with alternatives in order to generate broader participation:

By dividing a territory into zones it would be easier to involve more people. But there is a risk in this strategy that they might then want to create a new territory. Rather there should be a natural process as a result of establishing a plan that perhaps will conclude that the basis of the territory is different – so the construction of the plan is important, and should involve agreements, pacts, so that it's not just something for negotiation centrally with the State. (Ana Claudia, MDA Delegation in Bahia, 14 December 2011).

The division of the whole state of Bahia into territories can be interpreted as a top down political move to strengthen the hand of rural social movements vis-a-vis municipal prefects and facilitate accountability in state planning. Although these are reasonable objectives, social, geographic and political distance and difference amongst territorial actors and the nature and status of existing networks and coalitions were not properly considered, or not understood. The sheer size of the territory, the geographic fragmentation of its social networks, and the importance of frequent contacts, common practical interests, and good communications for collaboration all suggest that it may be simply too large. Without better harmonisation of development policies and institutions and closer alignment with the valley's diverse economic trajectories little transformation is possible, despite the aims of territorial policy.

In summary it would appear that the state has so far failed to institutionalise effective meso-scale mechanisms for democratic policy management through its experimentation with territorial development programmes. This is certainly true in the case of the Jiquiriçá valley, and there is no convincing evidence to the contrary from elsewhere. In some cases, collective civil society actors and public institutions may be able to craft new institutional arrangements that strengthen democratic governance and help achieve more inclusive and sustainable economic development; however, this depends on voluntary political support and engagement by existing state and municipal government institutions. The Jiquiriçá valley *Colegiado* has had partial, informal collaboration from a group of state agencies and a handful of municipalities, but so far it remains only a tentative and partial innovation, a state-promoted but informal and relatively unstructured civic association which benefits from extremely uneven participation in relation to its objectives. Participation is open to all and self-selecting, and there are no legal requirements or incentives for genuine participation by municipalities. However the coordination of the *Colegiado* by rural union movement leaders has meant that the unions and their allies are the primary participants. Civil society organisations and their leadership are assumed to be representative of their wider membership and in turn to be somehow representative of their wider constituencies, although in many locations small farmers and urban residents are not involved in any form of local association or union. As a strategy to develop to participatory governance deliberative democracy the approach adopted thus falls into the trap of “assumed representation” identified by Houtzager and Lavallo (2009) in which civil society social movements represent poor and excluded groups as a whole, although there are no specifically defined mechanisms or rules for delegation and representation. As a network, the membership of the *Colegiado* offers opportunities to strengthen links, and in this sense to extend social capital, but it does not change the rules of the game for planning and resource allocation and planning, and it is not a mechanism able to adapt sector policies to territorial needs. The territorial turn in rural policy takes place in a complex institutional context still dominated by a centralised agriculture sector-led approach to the rural, a highly municipalised approach to decentralisation and the persistence of clientelist practice, tempered by the emergence of civil society social movements with some direct influence on government.

At the root of this situation are the tensions and contradictions that result from the interaction of these specific, centrally defined policies for territorial development with the “three

spheres” of market dynamics, civil society networks and established politico-administrative structures, the processes of hybridisation of public policies discussed by Bonnal and Kato (2011). In the case of the Jiquiriçá valley, these processes have allowed very limited scope for coalition building and development. Many of the difficulties encountered in the Jiquiriçá valley are common to those reported in other territories and relate to the fundamental lack of fit of Brazil’s territorial approach with what can be described as the “municipalist tradition” and the “rigidity of the federative pact” (Leite and Delgado 2011, Medeiros and Dias 2011) some features of which were discussed earlier in Chapters 5 and 6. Territories are not only groups of municipalities but are intended to have cultural identity. According to Leal (1949 / 1975; cited in Medeiros and Dias p.212) “*Brazilian municipalism is founded on superimposition of representative democracy on an inadequate social and economic structure in rural Brazil*”.

Under *Coronelismo*, landowner power was intimately connected to the support they received from state governments, and in North East Brazil municipal politics remains largely dominated by local elites, and there is a lack of alternative institutions able to change entrenched clientelist and patrimonialist political patterns. Municipal prefects defend his own interests competing for Federal resources, displaying a “myopia in relation to common micro and macro regional problems” and passing operational costs on to other actors (Medeiros and Dias 2011 p.214, citing Abrucio 2006 p.99). The Constitution ascribes a pre-eminent role in local affairs to municipal political leadership, and institutions are more densely developed at this scale, in the form of municipal assemblies with elected councillors, Municipal Councils, legislative and fiscal powers and technical and administrative directorates. However levels of municipal technical capacity in Northeast Brazil are very low, and 75% of Brazil’s municipalities are too small to raise more than 10% of their overall budgets or pursue any sort of strategic development utilising their own resources. Although these circumstances form part of the rationale for introducing territorial development policies, which target groups of these municipalities, there is no effective intermediate or meso-scale level of government between generally very large States and small local municipalities, and the policies, as practiced by MDA and in Bahia, are ill-equipped to effect real practical and institutional change.

Although attempts to establish new territorial institutions offer new mechanisms for financing and for accountability of development projects, pre-existing mechanisms for development planning still predominate, both formally, through Federal budget support to decentralised municipal budgets, and informally, through the private collaboration of municipal prefects, state deputies, landowners, and outside investors. In the Jiquiriçá valley in the absence of mechanisms for democratic control of land-use development these informal mechanisms have led to the recent installation of large industrial monocultures (eucalyptus in Maracas and Planaltino; cassava in Laje) and initiation of commercial mining exploration in Maracas and Jaguaquara. At the same time, the extraction and degradation of forest resources continues, threatening the valley's hydrological and productive potential in the longer term, and small to medium scale endogenous innovations in environmental improvements, as well as market organisation and agro-processing, are lagging behind due to absent institutions and limited development of social capital and technical capacity amongst local actors.

7.7.1 Challenges for public policy

In synthesizing its findings the drivers of positive rural development trajectories from its nineteen case studies, including the research reported here, in eleven Latin American countries, the Rural Territorial Dynamics research programme developed some empirically informed policy guidance (Rimisp 2011, Berdegúe *et al.* 2012). The programme set out three principles for policy approaches based on good practice identified and discussions of how policy could help overcome practical difficulties such as those encountered in the Jiquiriçá valley, through better, more informed analysis and strategic investment to build on cases of good practice. These principles are outlined below:

- (i) Policy should adopt territorial cohesion at national scale as a strategic objective to reduce inter-regional inequalities, and this requires both a national overview informed by territorially disaggregated data, and examination of combined and differential impacts of national policies in different locations through a territorial lens.
- (ii) Governments should intervene proactively to promote the development of innovative social coalitions within rural territories that can link up with, adapt and build on broader national development processes to meet their own needs. This is

something in which dedicated, decentralised, territorial development funds can play an important role provided they are managed by representative bodies involving government, civil society and private sector with real capacity and legal authority, and the invest in public goods that relate to the drivers of successful territorial development through medium-term cross-sector projects that outlast electoral cycles. (This use of decentralised funding mechanisms is akin to the approach adopted by the LEADER programme in Europe).

- iii) Government decentralisation that transfers effective power, capacity and resources to local government is likely to favour progressive territorial development provided this takes place in a context of genuine social participation and exercise of citizenship, which is necessary to avoid elite capture of power and resources (Rimisp 2011; author's translation).

Based on the evidence of how for how Brazil's rural territorial policies are being applied in the Jiquiriçá valley, they measure up poorly to these three principles, despite their superficial promise. The issues arising in relation to each of these principles are summarised below.

i) Territorial research and analysis: Bahia now produces statistics organised according to rural territories, published by SEI in collaboration with SEPLAN and CET,¹⁸² allowing for comparison of a variety of indicators over four years from 2005 to 2008. However the data does not include indicators of changes in income, poverty or inequality, and no analysis of the development dynamics that lies behind the data is provided. Moreover there is no evidence that this type of data is used in any way by government so as to respond proactively to changes or make adjustments to manage policy impacts at the territorial level. To date the only form of bottom up assessments available and utilised by state government are the periodic convening, through the territorial development collegiate forums, of assemblies to discuss sector policies, and the monitoring of the PPA (state government multi-annual plan) via the CAPP, a purpose an elected commission comprised of elected representatives of the different territorial collegiates. Positive as these initiative are, they have not been complemented by research into territorial dynamics, constraints and opportunities. Although

¹⁸² See http://www.sei.ba.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=76&Itemid=110

MDA has commissioned sporadic analyses in different locations, including the Jiquiriçá valley in order to develop a territorial perspective combining agrarian development policies and programming and priority inter-municipal projects (Athayde and Fernandes 2005) and SEPLAN have investigated the scope to assist economic development through cooperative social and enterprise (ITCP/UNEB 2010), these exercises have not been repeated or followed up. Not only does Bahia need a more systematic and analytical approach needed to the production of longitudinal statistical data, but this needs to be complemented by qualitative appreciation of the development processes at work in different territories, in order to provide a basis for policy appraisal. This would require the direct engagement by higher education institutions with adequate research capacity to interpret statistical data, assess multi-factorial regional development processes and investigate actor perspectives. In 2009, when the field research for this project began, Bahia's State Planning Secretariat had proposed to establish a territorial development "observatory" whereby research groups from different Federal, State and private universities in Bahia would be contracted to provide expertise to undertake participatory field research and in depth analysis in various territories, much as this research has attempted to do in the Jiquiriçá valley, to understand territorial dynamics, articulate local perspectives provide local perspectives and assist in identifying policy problems and opportunities. This project however never came to fruition, and engagement of universities with territorial development and policy in Bahia remains entirely *ad hoc*.

ii) Investment in progressive social coalitions and use of territorial development funds: The Jiquiriçá Valley *Colegiado*, and other in Bahia, had no access to funds from Federal or State Government for technical assistance and training, which has been a major limitation, and the MDA budgets to which the territorial forum had access was dedicated to infrastructural projects requiring investments in physical capital. When the state government declared the valley as a *Territorio de Identidade*, there had been no analysis of the positions and alignments adopted by the actors in the valley and of the nature of social coalitions in the valley, beyond the recommendation by Athayde and Machado (2004) that it should be regarded as a "potentially emergent territory". There was no effective diagnosis of the conditions under which a more cohesive territorial identity and vision could emerge, and no attempt to invest in their emergence by supporting the development of progressive local social coalitions. Above all, this would require investment in critical "soft" factors, such as human capacity, organisation development, leadership, technical skills, facilitated dialogue

amongst multiple actors, improved institutional status for the forum, and internal rules, to make it more inclusive, representative and democratic. In practice, as the findings reported in this and the previous chapter have shown, participation in the *Colegiado* was self-selecting and it even lacked for adequate basic funding to enable it to meet regularly and ensure the participation of actors from more remote municipalities and from community level. Although the Proinfra budget over which the *Colegiado* was granted deliberative powers could in some senses be regarded as a territorial development fund, in practice resources were extremely difficult to access, and the collegiate forum had no real autonomy in determining how they should be used. The forum was not fully representative, had little technical assistance and no legal authority, and as such had no capacity to diagnose the operative territorial dynamics and to build on them by proposing appropriate cross municipal investments

iii) Democratic decentralisation: The context in which the territorial development policies were applied in Bahia, although highly decentralised was not highly democratic given the webs of traditional paternalistic social power in which many municipalities were enmeshed, and which in a various cases, they actively reproduced. Although some had instituted genuinely democratic reforms, these were a minority in the valley. The central problem, however, is the absence of any formal meso-scale government institutions which correspond to the geographical configurations of *Territórios de Identidade* as multiple groupings of municipalities, or any other body concerned with territorial development beyond the municipal scale. The *Colegiados* themselves, although incipient, deliberative institutions, have no institutional status or formal links to government institutions at municipal and state levels. In the Jiquirica Valley, although *Mercovale*, the inter-municipal consortium of municipal prefects, has now been established as a public consortium, it has not so far not managed to develop any formal collaboration of cooperation with the *Colegiado* there was no forum or institution. Most Brazilian municipalities are too small to develop a critical mass of economic activity or technical managerial capacity, and in the Jiquiriçá valley in common with much of Northeast Brazil decentralised public finance is often still subject to elite capture and use for political purposes, in the absence of mechanisms for citizen control. As a result rural territories such as the Jiquiriçá Valley have not yet become arenas for genuine social participation and exercise of citizenship.

The state, through federal and state government policies, and the activities of multiple state agents, is closely and directly involved in promoting rural territorial development, but is not

yet sufficiently engaged in the right kind of ways. Medeiros and Dias (2011) contend that the formalisation of emergent territorial institutions with stronger social participation, and explicitly defined deliberative and supervisory powers and responsibilities in relation to those of municipal and state authorities, could begin to effect real change. While this may be true, legal formalisation of the existing *Colegiados* will not in itself bring about radical change, if as in the Jiquiriçá valley, they have no technical capacity and are not fully representative, and if complementary changes cannot be made to the mandates, powers and responsibilities of local government, and of parallel institutions such as the inter-municipal consortium and the river basin management committee, to ensure that they collaborate.

While *Territórios de Identidade* do represent a type of deliberative democracy, they fall short of citizen control, in that they have no direct access to funding, and decisions regarding their plans and proposals are made at higher levels, by MDA/ SDT and at state level by CEDETER. Moreover the policy and budgetary arenas over which they have influence are limited, confined to agrarian development policies within the purview of MDA, the *Proinfra* budget and identification of key areas for state government investments, areas in which they have an essentially consultative role. While decisions and plans made by the *Colegiado* may extend citizen participation improve accountability of government in some areas, and the participation of civil society alongside government actors strengthens social capital, there have been scant returns in terms of access to resources, and territorially focussed policies and investments, as few sector Federal Ministries or State Government Secretariats have bought in to the territorial development approach adopted.

Leaving aside the structural problem of lack of fit with existing institutional frameworks and the need to develop new institutional arrangements which shift legitimate power and authority away from traditional municipal oligarchies, it still remains critical to understand the role of social coalitions in territorial development. The existing, localised progressive coalitions in the Jiquiriçá valley need to extend network links and partnerships with external collaborators in order to build broader and deeper forms of social capital and develop the discursive power and additional social skills needed to influence and negotiate effectively with other actors. Rural policies need to provide for investment in analysis of territorial dynamics, the development of social coalitions, and in technical assistance to assist them in developing viable strategies and proposals that can gain the support and consent of local actors, and engage with existing state institutions.

Taking up some of the suggestions made by local actors in the Jiquiriçá valley, a feasible scenario, if both State and Federal government were sufficiently committed to embark on it, would be to foster the combined development of the inter-municipal consortium and the *colegiado*, in which the *colegiado* played the role of a deliberative democratic forum. The new meso-scale institutions would require the participation of local authorities and have carefully defined and negotiated mandates, powers and responsibilities in relation to those of municipal government. They will also require stronger financial and technical support, and arrangements to foster the engagement of universities, specialist technical and advisory institutions such as SEBRAE in addition to engagement of the private sector and building capacity in civil society. Although the existing territorial delineations are not necessarily sustainable or definitive, state government could also make efforts to align sector administrative divisions (such as those used in Health and Education, based on administratively defined “*micro-regioes*”) with territorial development policies, and deepen and harmonise regional economic development planning with rural territorial development planning. Innovation of this sort would require collaboration by a range of actors, including municipal authorities, farmers’ organisations and rural unions, development banks, business support organisations and the private sector, for which there are no presently institutional arrangements. Ultimately, however, and as local actors are acutely aware, shifts in *habitus* – changing mentalities of social actors over time through changing social practice in the co-construction of new social relations and institutional arrangements - are required for the transformation of historically rooted clientilist political practice and for modernised meso-level territorial institutions to gain legitimacy.

The research findings suggest some more specific practical measures which public policy could address:

- greater harmonisation of urban and rural policies and programmes;
- better alignment of existing territorial policies, networks and fora;
- more intensive inter-sectoral policy focus on local and regional economic development;
- expansion of technical assistance and rural extension linked to credit and finance for small and medium farms and non-farm business development;

- mobilisation of local cultural identities in a territorial branding scheme for local produce;
- incentives for and investment in capacity development to facilitate development of agro-processing projects and encourage private sector partnerships with small farmers and producer associations to strengthen market development for local produce.
- market incentives for landowners to improve environmental management, conserve landscape and biodiversity and develop rural and eco-tourism; and
- Higher education and professional training focused on providing young people in the region with locally relevant technical and management skills.

These recommendations point to greater rather than less engagement by the state. However, this does not mean simply further expansion of existing programs on present lines, but rather a closer integration of social spending with economic development and greater state facilitation of community-based and private sector development through strengthening of collegiate territorial governance.

In conclusion, more radical modernization of state policy is necessary to manage the sustainable development of potentially dynamic rural regions such as the Jiquiriçá valley and this will require closer alignment and coordination of sector policies, greater investment in human capacity and stronger institutionalisation of mechanisms for democratic territorial planning. However, the traditions of political-economic control by municipal elites and top-down centralised regional planning are both deeply rooted in Bahia, and there is only limited support amongst existing state policy and institutions for the more thoroughgoing approach to territorial development suggested here.

Chapter 8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, Section 8.2 first presents the findings in relation to the principal research questions¹⁸³. Some conclusions on the strengths and limitations of the methodology and the utility of the conceptual framework are set out in Section 8.3. The implications of the research for rural development policy and practice in Brazil and Latin America more broadly and for other regions are discussed in section 8.4. The chapter concludes with suggestions for a continuing research agenda to deepen understanding of how more inclusive and sustainable rural development processes can come about and the opportunities for progressive institutional change and improved territorial governance to address the challenges posed by contemporary development trends for rural regions and those who live and work in them.

8.2 Findings in relation to the research questions

8.2.1 The factors driving the dynamics of inclusive growth

The research found that the Jiquiriçá Valley, despite apparently convergent municipal development trends combining overall growth with poverty reduction, and with reduced inequality in a contiguous cluster of municipalities, in fact has distinctive development trajectories in different sub-regions. Although the valley is designated as a *Território de Identidade* under Brazilian rural policy and forms a river basin with a broadly common history of settlement and development as an agricultural region, it is environmentally diverse, and its population does not identify with the territory in a cohesive way.

The valley's success in relatively inclusive growth and poverty reduction in the last twenty years is the combined result of the integration of large numbers of small scale farmers into diversified and prosperous markets in the forested, eastern more part of the valley, and the broader effects of state policies and public spending in the valley as a whole. The geographic variations in the processes at work result from the interactions of the factors identified by the RTD programme as the key drivers of rural territorial dynamics based on cross-case analysis

¹⁸³ A preliminary, more descriptive account of the main research findings was published by the RTD research programme as a working paper (Quan et al. 2011), and later in more summary form as a book chapter (Quan *et al.* 2012).

of twenty studies. The findings of the research in the Jiquiriçá Valley in Brazil show how distinctive conditions and dynamic processes underlie broadly convergent overall development outcomes, in terms of growth and social inclusion.

Integration into expanding agricultural markets has been the principal factor driving the valley's development in the 20th Century, due to its suitability for production of multiple crops and its geographical proximity to regional and export markets centres in Salvador and the adjacent Recôncavo region. Changes in market demands have had varied impacts in the different parts of the valley, as a result of variations in natural resource potential and agro-ecological suitability for different cash crops, but also because of their different agrarian structures resulting from of historical settlement patterns.

The forest zone, where small scale farms below 10 ha predominate, alongside small numbers of medium and larger farms, benefited from continuous demand for a variety of crops; first sugar and subsequently, tobacco, staple foodstuffs and most significantly cocoa which brought significant prosperity from the 1970s onwards, together with a wide variety of tropical fruit crops. Small scale farming proved adaptable to market changes by growing a variety of crops, retaining cocoa as a core source of income, despite problems of disease, low productivity, variable market prices, and dependency on intermediaries in order to access markets.

Agriculture has faced serious problems, however, in transitional zones, characterised by a mix of small, medium and large scale farmers, where coffee was the dominant crop, as it has in the semi-arid region in the north and west dominated by large scale land holdings and reliant on extensive livestock production and a number of dryland crops. Over the last 30 – 40 years a series of crises in coffee markets, the withdrawal of policy support for coffee, and the collapse of markets for castor and other semi-arid crops have brought about a long term decline in large-scale commercial farming to collapse in the transitional and semi-arid regions. The production systems established in these areas have had difficulties in adapting to these changing market conditions, leading to high levels of unemployment and urban migration. Large scale cattle production has also suffered as a result of pasture degradation on steep slopes leading to soil erosion, and from sanitary restrictions on meat and dairy marketing. In some transitional areas the expansion of horticulture by smaller and medium sized farmers in transitional areas has partially substituted for coffee and restored prosperity, and a number of land reform projects have created new opportunities for poor farmers to

access land. In forest areas, however, where there are no unproductive large estates suitable for redistribution, the continual subdivision of smaller family plots makes farming no longer viable for a large part of the younger generation, prompting out migration, although on a smaller scale than has occurred elsewhere in the valley.

Weak overall governance of natural resources controlled by multiple private owners has also led to widespread loss of remaining tropical forest through uncontrolled logging, agricultural clearance and degradation of dry land forest due to commercial charcoal production. The resulting soil erosion leads to flash flooding and extensive siltation of water bodies, threatening the integrity of the valley's hydrological system. There are indications however that substitution of cocoa and other tree crops for cattle in the forest zone is now improving sustainability.

The success of broad based agriculture in the forest region and the growth of commercial horticulture in some transitional locations have stimulated a more diversified economic structure, in which successful farmers, large and small have invested in retail, wholesale, construction and other businesses. This has led to the growth of small and medium urban centres, notably Mutuípe, the centre of the cocoa trade in the valley, and also Jaguaquara, which has become a regional centre for horticultural trade. Although the valley lacks a major regional city, the growth of towns such as Mutuípe enables better access to goods, health care, education and administrative services, fostering rural–urban interdependence and enabling increasing numbers of farming families to live more securely in urban areas, an important consideration in light of increases insecurity and violent crime here and elsewhere in rural Brazil.

Public policy and spending, notably the expansion of federal financial transfers to municipal government and of pension and welfare payments to retired rural workers and the poor in general has been a major factor in poverty reduction throughout the valley, also contributing to economic growth by assisting development of the service sector, made up of around 60% public services, and in large part dependent on public spending as well as on agricultural trade. The effects of public policies have boosted municipal economies in the valley, but have been mediated by the differing agrarian and social structures in its different sub-regions.

Income transfers have provided an essential safety net in the less productive municipalities, but in higher potential areas where small-scale farming predominates, income transfers have combined with growth of credit provision and limited increases in available technical assistance and extension support to give additional stimulus to the development of farming, livelihoods and trade. The result has been apparently convergent and positive development trends across the valley in terms of census indicators for growth, and levels of poverty and inequality, despite underlying economic and social differences.

The expansion of redistributive public policies that has occurred since 2003 appears to have had the greatest impact on development in the 2000 - 2010 period, as it did throughout Brazil, when all of the valley's municipalities grew and reduced poverty. In the previous decade, the market dynamics had the greater impact, albeit with considerable geographical variations, although the payment of rural pensions and budget support to municipalities were already established and also contributed. In the valley's forest zone, where growth and poverty reduction were concentrated, there was a strong combination of broad participation in the expanding cocoa market with the emerging redistributive policies.

The effects of market growth and public policies have had less clear cut effects on inequality, for which there are no clear overall geographic trends in the valley. In cases where the better-off did not have overwhelming competitive advantages through control of large shares of production and trade, improvements in equality appear to have resulted from the effects federal social transfers in boosting income levels, combined with good market access for small farmers. In other cases however equality appears to have increased because production overall is in decline, and the fall in gains from commercial farming has led to the exit of the rich. In locations with a strong productive dynamic from which the better-off are well placed to capture the greater share of benefits, inequality has increased, although smaller farmers have also benefited.

The impacts of public policies have been most positive when local government is proactively engaged in promoting synergy between provision of infrastructure, service and credit, training and capacity building for enterprise development, and market development, which has occurred on a localised, limited scale in the valley's forest zone, under specific conditions. Here, a progressive social coalition centred on a family farmers' union

movement and assisted by other actors, has influenced municipal politics and institutional structures, has fostered collaborative linkages amongst different actors and has mobilised additional resources to bring about more inclusive and equitable development.

8.2.2 The role of social coalitions in promoting progressive institutional change

The social coalition in the eastern part of the Jiquiriçá Valley emerged from the agrarian structure dominated numerically by large numbers of small scale farmers and from community development work undertaken by the Catholic Church in the region during the Brazil's dictatorship. The Church facilitated the development of community based organisations, and the subsequent formation of a broader rural union movement in the eastern valley, now part of FETRAF, the national family farmers' union federation. Union and community leaders are also closely linked via social, political and professional networks with public employees, NGOs and some local business people. This coalition has promoted social inclusion through implementation of progressive public policies and government programmes, and its development has been part of the broader growth of union and social movements linked to the Workers Party in Northeast Brazil. Network analysis of relations amongst members of the collegiate forum and other public, private and civil society actors in the eastern valley also showed officials from state and federal agencies to be active and influential participants in the social coalition.

The election of the Workers Party Government which led to major changes in federal policy from 2003, and a Workers Party-led State Government in Bahia in 2007, has opened up more space for greater civil society access to and influence over public policies. As a result rural communities and civil society groups are no longer dependent on local prefects and personal links with politically sympathetic State Deputies and senior government officials to obtain state support.

The networks established by the coalition enable collaboration amongst groups in multiple locations and have also assisted in forging vertical linkages into policy networks at state and national levels. This has facilitated rural people's access to inclusive social policies,

strengthening of producers' and residents' associations, greater participation of women in economic and political life and direct economic links between rural communities and urban social projects. Gradual and localised political and institutional change and practical project innovations have occurred, notably in Mutuípe, where the rural union movement is based, reinforcing the pre-existing dynamic of broadly inclusive growth. Mutuípe has pioneered the democratisation of municipal planning in the region, the introduction of participatory budgeting, and public food purchase from family farmers. The coalition has been able to take advantage of new federal and state policies to obtain resources and technical support to assist community-based agricultural and business development. These developments have been influential and are gradually spreading in neighbouring municipalities in the Jiquiriçá Valley.

Although there is empirical evidence suggesting that this progressive social coalition has brought about institutional changes creating new economic opportunities for the poor in Mutuípe, outside of the valley's forest zone, collective action and civil society organisation in the Jiquiriçá Valley remain at best incipient. Social capital and collaborative external linkages are relatively weak; there is only limited capacity to occupy the policy and institutional space that has opened up, and little to suggest that poverty reduction and greater social and economic equality are the direct result of action by local social coalitions. Moreover, although greater engagement by small farmers in agro-processing and marketing has developed in the valley's forest zone, agricultural value chains remain dominated by powerful traders and external actors, and neither local territorial coalitions nor broader public policies have succeeded in bringing about greater productive innovation and economic inclusion on a significant scale.

Despite the relevance and impact of the FETRAF affiliated rural union movements in the east of the valley, and political alignment of the local social coalition with government, its capacity to achieve inclusive development on a broader scale is limited. Analysis of network linkages established through the Collegiate Territorial Forum for the Jiquiriçá Valley, established under Brazil's and Bahia's rural territorial development policies, showed participation to be skewed geographically, dominated by the rural union movement and its associated actors from the forest zone, and not representative of the valley as a whole. Except for municipalities politically aligned with the Workers Party, local government was only very weakly engaged in the Forum, and private sector actors were absent. Municipal

public power remains a dominant local force, and the progressive social coalition based in the east of the valley has had little or no influence over municipal politics and institutions elsewhere, where local elites have been able to capture federal resources to sustain political and economic power.

Returning to the broader question of what has brought about relatively inclusive growth and poverty reduction, public policies which redistribute income and economic activity have had a predominant role across the valley as a whole, but the presence of large numbers of family farmers with linkages to dynamic regional markets is the key to prosperity in the forested lower valley, and also in expanding horticultural areas of the valley's transition zone. The operative scale of territorial dynamics involves different clusters of municipalities, with broadly common social histories, natural environments, production systems, and links to markets in intermediate regional towns and cities (as shown in Figure 5.10 in Chapter Five). Agricultural markets and public policies have been the primary drivers of development in the valley, and the effects have been mediated by the existing structures of land access and distribution. However gradual institutional changes have taken place locally, in Mutuípe and to a degree in neighbouring municipalities of the forest zone, where the progressive social coalition based on the rural union movement has had greatest impact.

8.2.3 The implications for territorial development policy

Against this background, territorial development policies themselves have not yet been able to achieve significant additional productive innovation and economic diversification in practice in the Jiquiriçá valley. The network analysis detailed in Chapter Six showed the valley's Collegiate Territorial Development Forum to be dominated by a specific grouping, based on FETRAF affiliated rural unions closely linked to the ruling Workers Party (PT) which was not able to construct a broader coalition of actors or mobilise federal resources for innovative projects on a useful scale. The administrative designation of the entire middle and upper Jiquiriçá valley as an "identity territory" was somewhat arbitrary, and not based on diagnosis of the existing territorial dynamics. The division of the entire state of Bahia into rural territories can be seen as a political measure to strengthen the hand of social movements vis-à-vis municipal prefects, and facilitate greater accountability in state planning. Despite

these objectives, the social, geographic and political distance between territorial actors, the geographic fragmentation of social networks and civil society movements within the region, and the need for collective action to be founded on frequent contact, good communications and common interests amongst the actors, suggests that the Jiquiriçá valley may be simply too large to be a functional territorial unit. In addition, the overlapping geographies observed in Bahia of public agencies and territorial initiatives led by different actors inhibit the emergence and effective operation of collaborative and collegiate territorial institutions. State policy has failed to harmonise top-down, sector-led policies and programmes with territorial perspectives, and to institutionalise effective meso-scale mechanisms for democratic policy management. This would require stronger financial and technical support for the collegiate territorial forum, providing it with legal personality, developing the capacity of its constituent local coalitions, and fostering linkages with the inter-municipal consortium established by the valley's municipal prefects.

Based on evidence from the Jiquiriçá valley, and in the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary from elsewhere, rural territorial development policies and practices in Bahia and more generally in Brazil appear ripe for renewal, as discussed in Chapter Seven. Without better harmonisation of development policies and institutions, alignment with the valley's diverse development trajectories, and concerted investment in productive inclusion, little change or innovation can be induced by the current territorial development policies, despite their aims. The traditions of political-economic control by municipal elites and top-down centralised regional planning remain deeply rooted in Bahia, despite recent political changes, and the present territorial approach has little political traction. In the absence of investment in meso-scale territorial institutional development and change by government, the formal institutions of government in rural Brazil remain Municipal. While small, fragmented, politically self-serving municipalities are ill-equipped to address the challenges at broader territorial scales at which development and change take place, they constitute one of the principal political fields within which social movements and other actors must operate to advance their interests. It is through the political influence of local coalitions at the municipal level, rather than through broader territorial action, that gradual institutional changes have come about in some of the municipalities of the Jiquiriçá Valley.

In addition to the difficulties encountered in Bahia's approach to territorial development, the research has identified two major inter-related policy problems:

- i) Continued and growing dependency on federal social income transfers and financial support to Municipal government especially in the less productive, semi-arid municipalities, and others suffering economic decline as a result of the collapse of coffee.
- ii) A failure to support more inclusive economic development, for instance by fostering greater market organisation and engagement in value chains by farmers' organisations, and small scale private enterprise, the potentials of which have been largely neglected by policy.

As a result, even where poor small farmers are linked to dynamic markets and benefit from public policy support, the present policy formula combining assistance to small scale farming, social income transfers and limited assistance to territorial fora to promote democratic participation in planning has probably reached its limits, in terms of its potential to promote greater economic and social equality. Greater productive inclusion will require changes in structural relationships between social groups, for instance to improve distribution of productive land, access to water for irrigation, and increase small farmers' market organisation and influence over value chains through small and medium scale agro-processing and strengthening human capital to enable capture of greater value added.

In practice, however, public policy has paid very little attention to "soft" social and institutional factors that govern access to productive resources and the development of social capital and collective agency, or to the role of linkages and collaboration between actors and institutions at different geographic scales. This research found these factors to be central to locally successful initiatives. Without state assistance and capacity building for local actors to engage effectively in value chains, development of the thriving, locally owned agro-processing and marketing sector to which the social coalition in the eastern Jiquiriçá Valley aspires is likely to remain a remote prospect, beyond its present small, dispersed and artisanal scale.

Attempts by the state to stimulate development of more representative territorial governance institutions have so far been under-resourced, and poorly aligned with the economic

geography and dynamics of the region, largely failing to engage with local government and with sector policy. The approach adopted by MDA and SEPLAN in Bahia has become relatively isolated and largely ineffective in practice.

It is incumbent on the state to look to the real world geography of social and economic change and to bring about greater convergence and consistency in policy and planning, across different sectors, and amongst different decentralised collaborative initiatives. Better, more comprehensive understanding of rural territorial dynamics is needed to identify the scope for feasible and gradual institutional changes that policy could address. Until these conditions can begin to be met, democratic territorial development will remain a rhetorical goal that in practice co-opts formerly independent social movements to the implementation of official policy.

8.3 Conclusions on the approach

8.3.1 Effectiveness of the methodology

The approach adopted by the research illuminated the development dynamics of the case study area, the role played by collective action within it, contextualising the challenges faced within the framework of territorial development policy in Bahia and Brazil as a whole, while drawing out the broader policy implications. The research successfully applied a cross-disciplinary perspective combining concepts and approaches from geography, sociology, economics and political science, while also paying attention to biophysical processes of environmental change. It made positive use of mixed research methods, deploying primary and secondary data, quantitative and qualitative analysis, and both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, addressing within-case variation, and triangulating across different data sets and sources to reach robust conclusions.

Key insights that would have been impossible without adopting these mixed methods and different disciplinary perspectives in an in-depth case study approach concern the diversity of localised territorial dynamics within a region perceived at policy level as more homogeneous, the interaction of multiple factors to produce differing outcomes according to geographical variations in access to assets and institutional aspects, the particular role of agrarian structures

in mediating impacts of policy and market changes, and in some locations, the interaction of actors at different scales in shaping the development and capabilities of local social coalitions. The study also revealed the limited utility of census indicators, even when disaggregated by municipality, in understanding the real nature of development processes and outcomes, and the need for additional data, actor perspectives and qualitative analysis for proper interpretation of development trends.

Nevertheless, despite the advantages of the approach and methods adopted, the research faced a number of limitations which need to be considered. One limitation is simply that by focussing on a single case study, the study is open to the charge of limited generalizability of its conclusions. The research, however, was not intended to draw firm conclusions applicable beyond the specific case study site, but it did contribute to a broader programme of research that was able to generalise, by analysing a total of twenty cases, in eleven countries.

In addition, the broader relevance of the research conclusions from this case study is reinforced in two ways. First, the study focussed on an area that encompassed much of the range of agro-ecological and socio-economic diversity encountered within Bahia and northeast Brazil generally, and addressed the range of variation encountered by developing a methodology for focussing on a group of contiguous municipalities that nevertheless were representative of the region's broader diversity. In reality, however, this strategy was a pragmatic compromise, with advantages of saving time and resources, while also enabling a focus on the area of operation of the local rural union movement and its associated social coalition. Had there been time and opportunity to address the dynamics of other parts of the valley, such as the horticultural cluster centred on Jaguaquara and the semi-arid region centred on Maracás, the results would have been more illuminating regarding approaches required to address the valley's full diversity.

Second, the research took available opportunities for comparative assessment of findings with those of other studies conducted by the RTD programme and other research concerned with territorial development in Brazil. These opportunities, however, were more limited than expected since the various case studies were undertaken by different teams in widely differing locations. In addition, the overall design, timing and resources available did not

allow for detailed comparative assessment of findings for Brazil. Despite the participation by large numbers of Brazilian rural territories in the *Territórios de Identidade* and *Territórios de Cidadania* programmes, the RTD programme was only able to include three Brazilian case studies. Nonetheless, the study benefited from interaction with other RTD research teams which arrived at largely convergent conclusions about the factors leading to successful territorial development processes and the broad implications for policy, despite enormous contextual variation. Further research might, however, explore comparative analysis of territorial dynamics and development processes in Brazil, and those in primarily agricultural regions of a range of countries more systematically. This would deliver further insight and more robust conclusions in relation to the types of policy approaches and practical interventions required in these contexts.

An additional feature of the study, in common with other RTD programme studies, was that the case study area was selected based on indicators of successful development outcomes combining growth with poverty reduction and decreases in inequality. This was the result of a conscious collective decision to focus on the factors driving success in order to demonstrate how and why it is possible. This approach raises two issues. The first is that it would not be possible to investigate the obstacles to success encountered in other locations and regions. In practice, however, the RTD programme was unable to identify cases in some Latin American countries which combined positive outcomes in all three and in some cases even two of the three dimensions of growth, poverty and inequality considered, owing to national economic circumstances. As a result the studies in those countries revealed more about the dynamics of non-inclusive development, and potential opportunities to make it more inclusive. In Brazil, the impact of national social and economic policies has been generally positive, so cases of municipalities that combined growth with reduced poverty and inequality were more common. Nevertheless, by focussing on variation within the case study territory, the research was able to identify and consider municipalities that were not successful in increasing average incomes or reducing poverty at all during the 1990s. Although the more in-depth field investigation took place in a contiguous group of municipalities that all displayed indicators of success, the research was able to explain how in those municipalities with virtually stagnant production, high unemployment, out-migration and concentrated land ownership, local economies continued to grow and poverty was reduced, thanks to national policies, and the action of rural union movements in assisting people to access social rights.

The second question raised by the selection of the Jiquiriçá valley and the focus municipalities within it based on indicator based criteria for success, is how “success” in development should be defined. As has been shown, positive development indicators do not necessarily represent successful development processes, and tend to mask the real nature of the processes underway. In certain respects, development of the Jiquiriçá valley was found not to have been so successful after all, in that agricultural production and markets in large parts of the territory had virtually stagnated, leaving them dependent on public transfers. Moreover, when the 2010 Census data disaggregated by Municipality became available, it was apparent that various municipalities had lost population (a problem clearly related to the continuing economic stagnation of particular regions of the valley). As discussed in Chapter Five, this most recent data also showed that a smaller number of municipalities had reduced income inequalities over the previous decade, as compared with the 1991 to 2000 period. These municipalities were not grouped in contiguous clusters of more than two, and in most cases these were different ones. This, together with the generally very small positive and negative changes that took place in the Gini index for income over both periods, and its sensitivity to a range of factors not always associated with positive changes (such as exit of the better off or the poorest from particular municipalities), suggests that changes to this particular index are not a very good indicator of socially inclusive development. Changes in the Gini index for land ownership, perhaps combined with those for incomes, could have provided a better indication of changes in inequality, in which assets are important as well as income.

A related issue is that, were case study territories to be selected today based on a mapping of the 2000 – 2010 changes, a different shortlist of contiguous clusters of municipalities showing “win – win – win” outcomes would emerge, and would probably not include the Jiquiriçá Valley. The particular virtuous combination of inclusive agricultural growth in some locations and gradually expanding public policy support throughout the valley that produced such convergent outcomes up to 2000 did not produce exactly the same outcomes up to 2010, although the scale and value of policy support increased considerably, and agricultural growth continued. Indeed, according to the 2010 census data (IPEA 2013) almost all municipalities in Brazil both grew and reduced poverty over the decade to 2010, and 60% also reduced inequality, but the majority of municipalities in the Northeast and in Amazonia

did not. Therefore, it is likely that any contiguous cluster of municipalities in these regions which did reduce inequality significantly in the decade to 2010 would in fact have done so because of some distinctive productive dynamic of economic inclusion, given that common Federal policies of municipal and social income support assisted in bringing about growth and poverty reduction almost everywhere. In addition, as this research has shown, more localised inclusive territorial dynamics can exist on a smaller scale, as they did in Mutuípe, as a result of action by localised social coalitions and municipal government, and these localised dynamics should not be ignored.

In future, alternative approaches to defining success could be considered, and could well be more illuminating in reaching stronger conclusions about what produces and constrains processes of socially inclusive growth. This would involve more rigorous examination and triangulation amongst a range of the most up to date information, including not only the direction but also the level of change in various indicators, and consideration of broader regional contextual trends, in order to gain stronger clues as to the presence of virtuous dynamics. Where there is clear evidence of socially inclusive growth, individual municipalities or smaller groups of municipalities could also be selected for study. Indeed, given the continuing barriers to municipal co-operation in Brazil, and the weaknesses of territorial policy, it is quite likely that the Municipal level still remains the operative level at which institutional innovation can take place that combines with broader progressive changes to produce distinctively inclusive and sustainable outcomes.

Additional purposive strategies could be also adopted to select for cases of productive inclusion in which the rural poor gain from greater access to more diversified markets and stronger influence over value chains, or for cases of decentralised participatory planning, innovative project interventions, or successful reversals of environmental degradation, or indeed combinations of these, while using a common analytical frame of reference similar to that applied by the RTD programme. In reality, the fact that some cases of successful development of these types were encountered in the Jiquiriçá Valley was fortuitous and not directly related to the indicators used to select it, although it is likely given the spatial concentration of small-scale farmers and positive development indicators, that some such innovations would have been found and that they made some causal contribution to the positive changes recorded by the indicators. Adopting this sort of approach to defining

success however, would require access to and analysis of broader data sets and greater prior knowledge about the range of possible cases for study, including the perspectives of informed local actors, which in this case, were not available prior to making the choice of case study site and beginning the research.

Without conducting in-depth empirical research in each municipality, it is not possible to explain fully what led to the specific combinations of outcomes recorded in the census data. The changing outcomes, particularly in relation to reductions or increases in inequality for 1991-2000 and for 2000 – 2010 leave the investigator speculating as to exactly what combinations of factors were at work in municipalities not investigated empirically. Here it can be observed that the changes in levels of income growth and inequality were often rather small, and particularly in smaller less populated municipalities with low levels of economic activity, the data are very sensitive to minor external or internal changes, for instance accession of a cohort of families to the *Bolsa Familia* programme or to rural pensions, annual increases in federal funds transferred to the municipality, exit of a single large farm from commercial production, or outmigration of the poorest families. Changes such as these have little to do with structural changes in access to assets, institutional changes, or the action of social coalitions.

To conclude, the RTD programme's hypothesis that combinations of income based indicators of successful development outcomes would reflect virtuous development processes on the ground, involving real shifts in access to and utilisation of productive assets by the poor, and the impact of progressive coalitions on local institutions did not really hold in practice, in this case. The experience on the ground proved to be much more complex, although this is not to say that such virtuous processes have not been underway in certain locations, as indeed the research has shown that they are. However the spatial concentration of combinations of positive indicators in the Jiquiriçá Valley sparked a somewhat illusory quest to identify a unique local formula combining democratic institutional changes and explicit alliances of local actors to explain comprehensive progress. In the end, while localised success in inclusive development, which in some cases has involved the influence of progressive coalitions on institutional structures, certainly exists in the valley, the underlying explanation for the growth of incomes and improvements in social inclusion in the case study area is the combination of its linkages to expanding, diversified markets, and increases in federal social

spending and municipal financial support. These factors have interacted in different ways according to variable local conditions. Within this overall picture of successful outcomes, there are few cases of success in the form of increasing productive inclusion leading to real reductions in economic inequality. Where this has occurred, it does appear that particular forms of articulated collective action linking actors at different scales and in different specific locations have produced it, as they did in Mutuípe. Institutional strategies for scaling up and transferring productive inclusion to reach more communities, municipalities and rural territories and to overcome persistent inequality and continuing domination of elite actors over local political and economic institutions merit further investigation.

8.3.2 Utility and relevance of the conceptual framework

The research made successful use of a wide range of concepts to help explain territorial development processes in the case study area. To supplement the overall conceptual framework of actors, assets and institutions adopted by the RTD programme at its outset, specific bodies of literature in social science and geography were considered for their potential relevance in refining the analytical approach, a process in which dialogue and interaction with other researchers associated with the RTD programme was important. In the light of the findings and the analysis developed for the Jiquiriçá Valley specifically, a number of theoretical aspects can be highlighted.

Firstly, the recognition, central to social geography, that spatial and social relations are mutually “embedded” was fundamental in understanding how the historical interaction of social actors has led to particular spatial configurations of land holding, productive enterprise and political power in particular places, and how these features of socially constructed space in turn shape possibilities of continuing change and development. This theoretical standpoint also encouraged an empirical focus on the geographical dimension of social and collaborative networks amongst local actors, which led to the findings that the emergent territorial network in the area was dominated by a grouping of actors from a particular cluster of locations. A further geographical dimension that proved important was the interaction amongst factors operating at different scales, in particular the local impacts of policy decisions in Brasilia or Salvador, and the presence of actors and organisations civil society groups organised at local, municipal and regional levels, and able to play key roles in bridging actor networks at

different scales so as to mobilise additional resources and expertise not otherwise available locally.

Related to this, the concept of social capital is of continuing relevance, although by no means a panacea, in explaining and promoting development success. Conceptions of social capital as utilisation of social relationships for individual or collective gain (Bourdieu 1991), and as an emergent property inherent in particular groups, societies, and even geographic locations with high levels of reciprocity and civic organisation (Putnam *et al.* 1993) are both useful, notwithstanding the polemical debates between these two schools of thought in the mid-late 1990s and early 2000s. Nevertheless, the construction of social capital over time and space and the way this confers advantage require empirical attention, and for this purpose refinements of the concept to include internal bonding, horizontal bridging and vertical linking forms of social capital were found to be useful in explaining how change and innovation occurred and the mobilisation and acquisition of particular resources required. In practice, rather than attributing success to an amorphous notion of social capital, concepts of political capital, and symbolic / discursive capital developed by Bourdieu, and ideas of human capital, or particular capabilities and skills of specific actors are also useful in explaining how particular groups and coalitions and have achieved greater influence and brought about change.

In considering how social and economic reproduction, change and transformation can occur, Bourdieu's theory of praxis, spanning structures of power relations between actors, groups and social classes, and the role of human agency, including both individual and collective action, offers an overarching theoretical standpoint. Its application to specific geographical regions requires mixed methods, including empirical characterisation of actor perspectives and relations, and the use of broader data sets to try to understand unfolding structural relationships between groups and locations. However, in seeking to explain territorial development processes based on these ideas, some caveats are in order. First, Bourdieu tended to focus on the role of access and control of different forms of capital in reproduction of power relations, rather than on the possibilities of change and how it might be achieved. Second, and related to this, Bourdieu also tends to project his idea of *habitus*, or socially constructed mind sets and forms of rationality, as somewhat fixed, and it is not clear how changes in mental and cognitive structures that assist the empowerment of subordinate groups

can come about. Although there is empirical evidence that the resistance to change of established ways of perceiving and doing things is a real constraint, for instance on the development of collective action by peasant farmers to reduce dependence on market intermediaries or the goodwill of the local prefect, there is also evidence that changes in collective attitudes and perceptions have occurred in the process of social mobilisation and development in my case study area. Third, Bourdieu's idea of "fields" as specific arenas of social and economic life, although illuminating, is of limited utility applied to territorial dynamics, in that the fields that Bourdieu analysed such as the economy, politics, culture, religion and academia generally transcend particular locations, except in cases of political institutions or discrete markets which coincide with geographical areas. Finally, Bourdieu has no explicit theory of institutions, their roles in structuring and regulating actor behaviour within specific fields, how institutional change comes about, and the effects that this may have in changing social access to and deployment of different forms of capital. Rather, institutions are seen as a form of collective actor, or parts of the structures of fields which condense and express the interests of dominant social groups, tending to inhibit change. Although Bourdieu's theories are powerful, a broader set of concepts is needed in order to account for the dynamics of territorial change and geographical diversity.

Institutionalism in economics, political and social science provides useful complementary concepts, including the ideas of both formal and informal institutions as the rules regulating human interaction, and of path dependency in institutional development. In common with Bourdieu, much institutional analysis suggests that structural change is difficult to achieve, tending to results from external events and crises which "puncture" established equilibria in political and economic institutions at the level of the nation state. The evidence from the Jiquiriçá Valley and other RTD studies suggests however that a historical perspective is important, as longer term processes of gradual institutional change can occur, played out in different ways at different times and places under the influence of collective social and economic action. In addition to the action of coalitions at a local or territorial level, public policy can and does play a key role in bringing about institutional changes, and state agents can play active roles in coalitions and policy networks that help to bring these about. Institutional changes also require broader public support and legitimacy, however, and when they do occur, in altering the rules of the game, they tend to be more long-lasting than more ephemeral and possibly ill-judged changes in policy.

The outcomes of public policy itself can be regarded as the hybrid results of interactions with the actors and institutions of the state itself involved in policy implementation, and with civil society and the private sector (Bonnal and Kato 2011). As shown in Chapter 7, territorial development policy in Bahia, despite its objective of bringing about institutional change and innovation by shifting power to collegiate fora representative of civil society and local government, has not put mechanisms to achieve this in place, and the policy is resisted or ignored by various actors in state and local government, and some actors in civil society, rendering it largely ineffective. On the other hand, certain other policies and public programmes, such as municipal food acquisition, have been successful locally because both central and local government and community organisations have worked to create ways of implementing them effectively.

For the other conceptual tools needed to explain territorial dynamics and change it is necessary to return to thinking in geography. In explaining how geographically uneven development occurs it is necessary to combine perspectives such as the “New” Economic Geography that emphasises the role of “hard” or locational, infrastructural and market features, with more grounded case study based explanations of particular cases, and the analysis of “soft” concepts of power relations between groups, market governance and institutionalised social and economic rules, as deployed in recent in economic sociology (Fligstein 2001). This is helpful in explaining how context-specific changes can come about, and understanding the contributions that social coalitions can make. A key geographical insight is that the spatial dimensions and nature of markets are subject to change, as trade and economic networks become more open and integrated and the volume and complexity of spatial flows of capital, goods and services increase. From the point of view of economic geography particular areas may have particular productive characteristics and histories, but they are not insulated from wider market networks and changes.

A final important insight concerns political geography and the concept of territory. As a result of the interactions of specific localities with wider networks, flows of goods, people, resources and ideas become more complex, diverse and spatially extended, and the nature of territory itself is subject to change. In addition, multiple territorial forms are constructed by different actors, social groups and movements and branches of the state. These territories do not wholly correspond, tend to overlap, and may be organised at different scales. The key

way in which territory remains fixed and of universal importance is expressed in its classical sense in political geography and political science, as a more or less discretely bounded region over which specific forms of political authority are exercised, and in which particular political institutions correspond to specific geographical areas. In this sense territory can constitute a specific field in which collective action is relevant to advance or defend social interests and bring about changes in development processes and outcomes. If territorial development relies primarily on social identification with geographic space in the absence of territorial political institutions, however, voluntary collaboration amongst actors is likely to have limited traction.

8.4 Wider significance

8.4.1 Significance for Brazil and Latin America (in relation to RTD programme conclusions)

The research contributed to the development of the “mid-range theory” (Rimisp 2008, Berdegúe *et al.* 2012) developed by the RTD programme to explain why it is that certain rural territories in Latin America have followed development trajectories that combine growth with poverty reduction and improvements in inequality. The resulting theory emphasises the role of the five major factors discussed above: agrarian structure, including access to and governance of land and natural resources; linkages to markets and diversified economic structures; linkages of rural areas to intermediate towns and cities; public policy, spending and investment ; and finally, the action of territorial social coalitions. In contributing to the development of this overall theory, the Jiquiriçá valley case study had a number of features which revealed lessons relevant elsewhere in Latin America and in Brazil, particularly Bahia.

This study’s distinctive contribution was to show how these factors can combine to produce apparently similar development outcomes in different locations, despite important underlying differences. The research demonstrated the particular importance that agrarian structure and public policies can have in determining development processes and outcomes, showing how differing agrarian structures of land distribution and concentration have long-running consequences for access to development opportunities and thus for growth, poverty and

social inclusion. These historically rooted and evolving structures have mediated the impacts of regional market changes and federal government policies in the valley by enabling those with control over land and natural resources and the politically dominant groupings in the valley's different sub-regions and municipalities to capture the benefits. While integration into agricultural markets has been a key factor driving the valley's development since its original settlement, and provides the key to economic inclusion, the study also showed how significant public policies have been in promoting growth and poverty reduction, a dimension perhaps most pronounced in Brazil, of all the countries investigated by the RTD programme. Even where land ownership is highly unequal, local economies have stagnated, and local coalitions of social actors do not promote progressive change, federal policies have succeeded in maintaining growth, delivered basic services and reduced poverty. This study, in common with another undertaken for the RTD programme in the *Cariri da Paraíba* region of Ceará state (Favareto *et al.* 2012) demonstrates the risks inherent in this situation, and how policy has failed to link income transfers to investment in productive development and inclusion.

The study also explained the historical background to emergence of a particular localised social coalition, and analysed its features, scope, potential and limitations. It showed how localised institutional change and practical innovation came about in Mutuípe and the role that a social coalition plays in these processes, pointing towards the type of broader changes necessary to realise the benefits of this on a broader scale. However it also shows how these developments are very much nested within broader processes of social and political change in Brazil, and that state agents play a key role in collaborative networks at local level, by forging linkages with higher level coalitions to help bring about change. Despite the potential of progressive territorial coalitions, the study showed the dangers of over-reliance on civil society actors to lead implementation of place-based approaches when their capacity is weak, the difficulties in trying to extend essentially local coalitions into wider geographical areas, and the risk of loss of autonomy of social movements through co-option to government agendas. To achieve further progress in inclusive agricultural growth, the research findings suggest that greater capacity and collective action by local actors will be needed, within territorial frameworks based on smaller geographical clusters of municipalities which correspond more closely with the operative domains of civil society movements and organisations, agro-ecological regions, and associated market networks.

In relation to environmental sustainability, the research, in common with the RTD programme's studies of other territories, had difficulty in identifying data with which to understand environmental change and in identifying changes that clearly involved improvements in sustainability. The study was nevertheless able to relate negative changes resulting from pursuit of short-run commercial interests by private land owners, and weak institutional frameworks that externalise environmental costs. It found that a range of civil society actors, including FETRAF and its affiliated local unions, have come to promote sustainable farming practices and environmental conservation alongside greater access to social entitlements and political participation by peasant farmers, and that small scale farming systems have to an extent become more resilient in practice, although often still operating at relatively low productivity. This has involved incorporation of significant tree crop components and sometimes also conservation farming methods into household farming systems, features also influenced by market demand for cocoa and other associated crops, perennial and tree crops. However broader institutional innovation was found to be needed to control natural resource degradation at landscape scale to adjust incentives to private producers, and to enable farmers' and community organisations to articulate alternative approaches and achieve greater influence over agricultural policy.

Similarly, as in various but not all of the Latin American regions investigated by the RTD programme, the Jiquiriçá valley is not a region significantly affected by the operation of external coalitions of actors with interests in the exploitation of territorial resources. As such it does not itself provide guidance on how to manage territorial development in contexts characterised for instance by high levels of commercial investment in extraction of mineral and hydrocarbon resources, major infrastructure projects, large scale forestry plantations, enclave agricultural projects or tourism development. Large scale commercial mining, forestry and agriculture continue to be prominent across Brazil, and are now slowly developing in the Jiquiriçá valley and in other rural territories elsewhere, underlining the importance of territorial institutions to adjudicate and manage conflicting interests amongst internal and external actors and ensure that growth and transformation create real opportunities for local people.

While Federal policies provide an overall framework and considerable resources for investment in progressive development outcomes, the study points to the responsibilities of State government in closing the gap between Federal policy and outcomes on the ground, by establishing more robust institutions for the management of place based approaches and for territorial governance. In Bahia at least, despite the superficial adoption of territorial approaches, and attempts to empower civil society in democratic decentralisation, no serious efforts have yet been made to establish meso-scale institutions, or to harmonise the wide range of territorial development initiatives.

8.4.2 Implications in Brazil's evolving context

As the research proceeded, the *Territórios de Cidadania* programme was implemented in an increasing number of rural territories, seemingly involving assimilation of the need for a territorial approach by a wide range of bodies in Federal Government. This programme was short-lived, however, and was quickly abandoned by the most recently elected Workers Party government of Dilma Rousseff when she took office in 2011, in favour of a set of sector based measures with more short-run impacts likely to consolidate political support. Despite the higher levels of resources and agencies involved, available studies indicate that the *Territórios de Cidadania* programme suffered from similar problems to those identified by this research for the *Territórios de Identidade* programme in the Jiquiriçá Valley, including lack of investment in the capacity, skills and resources of territorial actors and coalitions to play effective roles in planning, monitoring and management of economic development projects, and failure to establish territorial collegiate bodies as deliberative institutions with clear powers responsibilities in relation to Municipal, State and Federal government.

The Jiquiriçá Valley study is one case which demonstrates the difficulties encountered as a result of the absence of meso-scale political institutions in Brazil, including over-reliance on Federal policies and spending, the gap between centralised programmes and development outcomes on the ground, lack of capacity and parochialism in municipal government. It also shows the inadequacy of present institutional arrangements to engage effectively with the operative territorial scales of economic development and environmental management, which involve clusters of municipalities, rural communities, market networks, small and medium towns, and extended landscapes comprising mosaics of natural resources and agricultural lands and hydrological systems.

The findings of the investigation in the Jiquiriçá Valley concur with those of other recent investigations (Favareto *et al.* 2012, Leite and Delgado 2011) on the relatively weak results of rural territorial development policies in Brazil and the wide range of institutional constraints faced by their attempts to stimulate inclusive productive innovation and more democratic governance. This raises broader questions about the need for more effective rural development strategies, echoing misgivings expressed by local actors in the Jiquiriçá valley and by observers and practitioners elsewhere. Brazil's MDA-led territorial development approach, intended to be holistic, but without much traction in other sectors and spheres of government, is now running out of steam, prompting a more thoroughgoing reappraisal of broader rural and territorial development questions.

Favareto (2012) has highlighted the absence of rural development strategy in Brazil, and, directly in line with the findings in the Jiquiriçá valley, the need to move beyond the simplistic and *ad hoc* policy recipe of support to small scale farming, income transfers and the creation of civil society based fora as a solution to problems of regional and rural social inequality. He points to the need for a more systematic, cross-sector approach to rural development. This would require clear intervention logic of objectives, targets, resource allocation, implementation strategies and indicators of change which clearly reflect the development dynamics of different major regions and rural areas with different degrees of urbanisation, and link down to specific institutions and programmes different levels of government.

While the present approach may have succeeded in reducing poverty, increasing social participation and consolidating political support for government it has not brought about sustainability or greater productive inclusion, or contributed significantly to reduction of inter- and intra-regional inequalities. As data assembled by IPEA (2013) show, although nationally 60% of municipalities are now reducing inequality, the pattern is different in Northeast Brazil, as was found in the Jiquiriçá Valley, and especially in Amazonia, where inequality continues to increase in many cases. The 2010 national census data showed that most of the smallest municipalities in rural Brazil, with populations below 10,000 still have negative growth and are losing population (Bacelar 2012), and that growth in many larger ones remains very low, situations also reflected in the Jiquiriçá Valley (see table 5.14 in Chapter Five). Growth in employment and economic inclusion are concentrated in the south

of Brazil and its urban coastal and industrial centres, and elsewhere the poor have been much more reliant on increasing social spending. Despite generalised reductions in poverty, Brazil also continues to pursue simultaneously the expansion of large scale agribusiness and a strengthening of family sector farming in a non-integrated way, in a context of continuing resistance by the still dominant conservative rural lobby to improved land distribution and generalised improvement in farm working conditions (Bacelar *ibid.*).

Strategic renewal of rural policy also involves a fundamental reappraisal and re-articulation within government and society at large of the nature and significance of rural areas, long confined to residual and subordinate status as producers of agricultural goods and labour reserves to service the needs of a rapidly urbanising economy. In effect, the debate is returning to the challenges of increasing complexity, diversity and multi-functionality of rural areas signalled earlier by Veiga (1999, 2002a, 2002c, 2004) and Graziano da Silva (1999, 2002), which led to the emergence of rural territorial development approaches in Brazil, but which have so far not been directly addressed by them. Work commissioned by IICA on rethinking the concept of the rural in Brazil (Bacelar 2012, Wanderley & Favareto 2012) seeks to establish a renewed typology of rural areas in the context of the diversity of regional and territorial dynamics and in relationships between rural and urban areas as a foundation for a renewed rural policy framework. Findings were presented to the Brazilian Senate in March 2013¹⁸⁴.

The policy renewal required in rural development is inter-related with that identified by OECD (2013) as necessary in regional development policy and national territorial strategy as a whole. OECD's recent Territorial Review for Brazil (OECD 2013) found that policies as a whole for regional, territorial and rural economic development remain in the doldrums, that municipalities often lack the capacity to carry out their role effectively, creating bottlenecks for regional development, and that there are broad issues in the integration of regional policy and of macro- meso- and micro- (municipal) scale territorial development and institutions which need to be addressed. These include: overcoming the multi-dimensional fragmentation of policies; dealing with sub-national governments' financial and political autonomy; building institutional and administrative capacity at sub-national level and increase civil society participation; reducing information asymmetries, and improving monitoring and

¹⁸⁴ See: <http://iicaforumdrs.org.br/iica2011/noticias/lenoticia/396>

evaluation. Although the OECD report did not concern itself specifically with rural territorial development, it made overarching policy recommendations for development of a place-based approach that would achieve higher complementarities between social and other sector policies which reflect many of the findings of this research. These include: simplification and unification of the administrative map of Brazil at the intermediary level between municipalities and states; institutional streamlining, with a clear identification of gaps, to end unnecessary proliferation of coordinating bodies; use of regional development funds to make investments in hard and soft infrastructure, with clear development targets; and complementing *Bolsa Familia* with related programmes for promoting social and economic inclusiveness of the extreme poor (OECD 2013).

8.4.3 Potential global significance and relevance to other regions

The research findings, and those of the RTD programme as a whole, demonstrate the importance of grasping spatial diversity in territorial dynamics, the factors which promote socially inclusive growth in rural areas, and the importance of territory and of place-based policies and institutions in engaging with these processes so as to reduce intra-regional inequalities and strengthen territorial cohesion at national scale in Latin America. They point to the need for balance between sector led policies and place based or territorial approaches, requiring greater institutional capacity and some degree of genuine devolution of resources and authority at the territorial level, and more disaggregated analysis of development processes. The Jiquiriçá valley study showed the importance of understanding the diversity of territorial dynamics and the insertion of local endogenous processes into broader social, market and policy networks, and of achieving appropriate levels of subsidiarity in establishing territorial level institutions where these are absent, so that they can be accessible to local actors and provide scope for real interaction to achieve consensus, or at least to reach effective compromise, in the governance of development processes. The analysis of the application of territorial approaches in Bahia revealed some of the challenges in developing genuine citizen participation and the inherent risks of “assumed representation” (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009) in new, decentralised arenas, such as those of the Jiquiriçá Valley’s collegiate territorial forum.

While the historical and geographical contexts of Bahia, Northeast Brazil and Latin America as a whole are specific to those regions, the critical dimensions highlighted by the research are highly relevant to the reduction of sub-national and intra-regional inequalities in other contexts in both developed and developing worlds. These include: the key roles played by markets, structures of land ownership and natural resource governance, intermediate cities, public policies and social coalitions in driving development processes; the need for balance between sector-based and place-based or territorial approaches, and between investments in social protection and productive development; the interaction of endogenous and exogenous processes; and the importance of developing devolved management of resources and effective mechanisms for citizen participation. Given the growing integration of rural regions into a globalised economy, these processes and problems are likely to be of increasing significance for all nations. The application of similar analytical frameworks and adaptation of the mid-range theory developed by the RTD programme to other contexts and regions is therefore worth exploring.

A number of research programmes have undertaken mapping and analysis of development outcomes and initiatives at comparable scales in multiple countries in Europe, although utilising different approaches and methods. Comparative analysis of findings, methods and policy implications would be illuminating for Latin America, where regional and global economic linkages, and levels of complexity in institutional structures are now approaching those of Europe, and also for other developing regions, which can probably expect to face similar challenges in decades to come.

For Africa, there have as yet been no similar attempts to understand and address the interrelated problems of regional and social inequalities, the dynamic processes leading to unequal, uneven spatial development and the management of natural resources and governance of economic development at a territorial scale. Despite a different historical context of colonisation and decolonisation, and the prevalence of customary territorial occupation and kinship-based social organisation and resource use in an institutional context now dominated by the nation state, there are similar development challenges to those in Latin America. These include the rapid growth of major cities, of large scale external investments in agriculture, forestry and mining, and of a new middle class, together with increasing commercial orientation of small scale agriculture, widespread deforestation and

environmental degradation, the impacts of climate change, continuing administrative decentralisation, and territorial conflicts with traditional resource users and indigenous groups. In this context, a focus on diversity of territorial dynamics, factors which promote growth combined with greater social inclusion and environmental sustainability, the balance between centrally planned, private sector led development, and place based approaches, and investment in territorial institutions is likely to be extremely illuminating for Africa's continuing development in the 21st Century.

8.4.4 Potential for further research - opportunities and questions raised

Given the focus of this investigation on a single case study and the small number of cases in Brazil covered by the RTD programme, the principle implication is for additional comparative research to validate, refine and extend the empirical range of the theory of progressive territorial change, and the analytical approach developed. This could be pursued at a number of different levels, to address specific themes which have emerged as important:

The broader territorial dynamics in Bahia could be analysed more systematically using a similar framework, to examine the drivers of territorial dynamics throughout the state, the fit of the present configuration of 26 territories with these dynamics as conditioned by the impacts of market development and integration, agrarian structures of land holding, and urban-rural interactions. The results and effectiveness of the existing territorial collegiate forums could be examined against these dynamics, and mapped against the spatial organisation of social movements, broader collaborative networks and coalitions, and other institutional innovations such as inter-municipal consortia and river basin management committees. This would then provide a basis for reappraisal of Bahia's current territorial development approach, with a view to redesigning institutional arrangements, adjusting territorial boundaries, and prioritising tailored assistance and investment to different circumstances.

For Brazil more widely, more systematic comparative research could be conducted by focusing the approach outlined above on different major regions, such as the Northeast and Amazonia, and on different types of territory, such as those characterised by the prevalence

of small scale family farming, functional integration with major cities, successful agribusiness development or the impacts of extractive industries. Comparative frameworks and policy approaches for territorial development and investment in the micro-regions adopted in different states could also be examined, to identify the ingredients of successful approaches and institutional innovation for the management and governance of development processes at cross-municipal scales.

Opportunities and mechanisms to develop and combine current social policies for conditional income transfers to the poor with policies to assist productive innovation and economic inclusion could also be examined, particularly for regions and clusters of municipalities where economic development remains stagnant and which are at risk of long term dependence on state assistance.

Further comparative research would also be valuable looking beyond Brazil, to examine the performance and effectiveness of different approaches to rural policy in different countries and major regions, including comparative approaches for categorising rural areas and providing strategic development support according to different types of territorial dynamics. IICA has already begun work of this type to compare approaches adopted in Latin America with those in Europe (Bacelar, 2012, Wanderley and Favareto 2012).

An important complementary avenue of research would be to investigate the results of different approaches to democratic decentralisation, citizen participation and assistance to the development of progressive actor coalitions, collaborative networks in strengthening rural development outcomes in different country cases and types of region. One important approach would be to select case studies based on successful coalitions, institutional change and democratic decentralisation and prior knowledge of development dynamics, rather than relying on census indicators of progressive development outcomes. As noted earlier this research has shown that the latter are not necessarily correlated with the action of progressive coalitions and with institutional innovations at a territorial level. Cases of failure, and of only partial success should not however be neglected. Empirical research into the ingredients of success and failure could be combined with refinement of our theoretical understanding of

the inter-relationships of social coalitions and institutional changes, at the sub-national level and in a rural context.

Specific comparative investigations into success in local economic development based on strengthening farmer and locally controlled arrangements for marketing, agro-processing and influence over value chains and innovation systems, and in changing land use practices to reduce environmental degradation and improve ecosystem services at landscape or territorial scales, would be valuable in order to identify how these changes can come about, and how they can be scaled-up.

An important challenge is to initiate research on comparative dynamics, and outcomes, policy approaches, and institutional dimensions of sub-national territorial development in Africa, as work of this type and on similar scales to that done in Latin America and Europe has not yet been attempted. Although similar perspectives and approaches to those adopted in Latin America by the RTD programme could be applied (for instance by categorising dynamics according to outcomes based on census and household surveys, and using a similar analytical framework to the one the programme developed), there would also be important differences. include the significance of external actors (including aid donors, development cooperation agencies, international NGOs, and international private investors), the interaction between customary, kinship-based and formalised institutional practices, and questions of food security and disaster risk.

Further research into comparative territorial dynamics and policy approaches can learn from the results and analytical perspectives developed by the RTD programme and from similar endeavours in Europe. While case studies are extremely illuminating, a common analytical framework shared by an associated network of researchers can deliver more powerful and far reaching results, as the RTD programme has shown for Latin America. An analytical perspective is recommended that addresses the interaction of factors and networks of actors at different scales, and combines different disciplinary understandings, for instance of the interaction of hard and soft factors in market development. As found in the Jiquiriçá valley the spatial interactions of the institutional architecture of state politico-administrative organisation with changing markets and market networks, and with collaborative networks

and coalitions in civil society with other social actors, and a focus on the geographical mediation of development policies by state, market and societal factors, will always be important in understanding the drivers of territorial dynamics and the implications for rural development policy.

8.5 Closing remarks

Based on the empirical research conducted, this thesis has attempted to demonstrate that the Jiquiriçá Valley case study area, taken as a whole, cannot be understood as a functional, organic territory with which different social groups in different locations identify, despite being identified by government as a rural territory for planning purposes. Nevertheless, establishment of functioning and representative government institutions with a mandate for territorial management would assist the region's development, as indeed would the establishment of effective political institutions corresponding to any given geographic space. The investigation found, however, that this is not something that government has pursued, and that the policy-led attempts, by the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Government of the State of Bahia, to induce institutional innovation to promote greater social participation within the case study area have not been grounded in analysis of territorial dynamics in the region and good understanding of geographical and social difference. As a result, they have had only very limited results.

In the absence of good evidence of pre-existent territorial identity, as in the Jiquiriçá Valley, a policy-led, constructivist territorial project that attempts to encourage the emergence of identity by parceling up space into pre-defined territories and encouraging civil society to participate and manage development of a new democratic arena is ambitious and risky. This is particularly the case if coherent sets of policies for place-based development are not in place, and not well-aligned with other policy approaches, as has been the case for the state of Bahia, and for Brazil as a whole. Brazil's participatory rural territorial development policy project of *Territórios de Identidade* has run up against more centralised planning approaches that attempt to organise and structure territorial development more broadly from above, and to remake places according to principles of agglomeration and comparative advantage, through the consolidation of city-regions, infrastructural development, assistance to private sector investments, and establishment of new regional development poles. In cases such as the Jiquiriçá valley, its size, natural diversity, and the variability in social and economic

connectedness of different locations to nearby and distant urban markets and service centres, suggest that any tendencies towards territorial convergence may well be outweighed by centrifugal forces. In this context, attempts to create a set of common economic projects linked to a representative forum with deliberative power may continue to face serious obstacles.

The state has not been sufficiently bold to legislate for the creation of a new cross-municipal political entity with specified powers in relation to those of municipal and state government, and as a result the idea of a rural territory as a socio-political institution may quite possibly remain confined to a conceptual and practical limbo, with limited traction. The difficulty is the assumption in policy that a geographical space can become a *de facto* territory because of the acceptance by a set of state and civil society actors of a policy discourse that persistently describes it as such, and their participation in an incipient and still informally structured *de jure* territorial collegiate institution that specific elements within the state have sought to establish. As a result, confusion has arisen between territory as a bounded space associated with an associated proto-institution in construction, the territorial collegiate forum, and the forum itself as a new type of collective actor, or emergent social coalition, widely referred to as “*o território*”, which has sought to make the territory circumscribed by state policy a social reality. Unsurprisingly, this is interpreted by other actors – including both local oligarchies controlling various municipalities as islands of conservative and landowner power, and social movements with different origins and priorities – as an attempt by the social and political network allied to the ruling Workers Party to extend its hegemony over the region, through the device of rural territorial development policy.

The Bahia State Government’s and Agrarian Development Ministry’s attempts to establish cross-municipal democratic institutions are inevitably undermined by weaknesses in conception and in empirical understanding of historical regional dynamics, and by difficulties in gaining the collaboration of actors throughout the designated space. In the case of the Jiquiriçá Valley, as such, in the absence of an institutionalised territorial political unit, there is no single specific territorial field of competition or arena of struggle within which the actors operate. As a result territorial development led by local civil society and sympathetic state actors is unlikely to go much further than it has so far, without concerted attempt to establish legitimate territorial political institutions configured and organised in ways more closely aligned with the territories recognised by local actors, constituted by real social, economic and policy networks, and their interactions of these with the biophysical

environment. In other cases, where territories designated by government may so correspond, the territorial development approaches developed under the two successive mandates of Lula's Workers Party government may ultimately prove successful in the longer term, if the initiatives are sustained, and appropriate institutional forms and arrangements are enabled gradually to evolve.

The alternative to the tentative, uneven, policy-led attempt to democratise development policy and planning territorially, as exemplified by the experience of the Jiquiriçá valley, would be to accept and work with other existing channels for extension of the democratic process. These include: struggles to make municipal politics more representative and accountable (it is worth noting that the 2012 municipal elections brought Workers Party, rural union-allied administrations to power in Laje, Ubaíra and Brejões municipalities, while returning Workers Party administrations in Mutuípe and Maracas); the extension of inter-municipal co-operation through public consortia; making centralised and sector policy more territorially responsive through consultative and participative mechanisms at various scales; and moving towards geographical representation in election of deputies to the State Assembly, together with systematic and higher level efforts to improve the overall coherence and accountability of the different policies and programmes that impact on rural development in Brazil.

Within this context, territorial collegiate bodies and assemblies as conceived in Brazil's recent rural territorial development policies can undoubtedly play a role, but they are neither necessary nor sufficient. If collegiate territorial bodies are to have a place they need to be established at practically feasible scales and configurations. This calls, above all, for geographical coherence and flexibility in state government policy in designating feasible territories and establishing more effective and representative fora, backed-up with consistent sector policies and legislation. While these findings of investigation in the Jiquiriçá valley have considerable resonance for other rural areas of Brazil, they are also relevant in development of approaches for the sustainable reduction of social, economic and regional inequalities elsewhere.

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APPENDIX: FIELDWORK TOOLS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

- A1. Checklist of topics for semi structured interviews in the first stage of fieldwork
- A.2 Checklist and guidelines for topics and questions to cover in group discussions for the Rural Communities Survey
- A3. Questionnaire for traders' survey with instructions for interviewers
- A4. Questionnaire and introductory letter for network survey
- A5. List of respondents targeted for the network Survey

A1. Checklist of topics for semi structured interviews in the first stage of fieldwork

ROTEIRO RESUMIDO DAS ENTREVISTAS

1. Nome do entrevistado, organização que represente, posição que ocupe

Outras funções e papéis que acumule:

2. Principais projetos que desenvolve ou objetivos para que trabalhe no Vale / Território

3. Entendimento ou percepção que tem do Vale como território

4. Percepção das principais eventos / acontecimentos / momentos ou períodos da recém historia / políticas ou programas que tiveram (ou ainda tem) impactos positivos no desenvolvimento do Vale.

5. Principais vínculos de rede / parceiros - atores com quem colabore / fóruns em que participa, dentro e fora do Vale

6. Percepções sobre alinhamento ou relações de conflito dos interesses entre atores, grupos sociais ou sub-regiões do Vale

PESQUISA SOBRE DINAMICAS DO VALE DE JIQUIRICA: MUTUIPE, UBAIRA E JIQUIRICA
ROTEIRO PARA ENCONTROS COM GRUPOS E ENTREVISTAS EM COMUNIDADES RURAIS

MUNICIPIO:

NOME DA COMUNIDADE/POVOADO:

DATA:

LOCALIZACAO:

(distancia da sede / estrada principal
referencia importante se houver)

PRESIDENTE/ CONTATO(S):

NUMERO DE FAMILIAS / POPULACAO ESTIMADA:

NUMERO DE PESSOAS PRESENTES:

HOMENS:

MULHERES:

ASSOCIACAO ATIVA (OU NÃO)?

NUMERO DE MEMBROS:

Resumir a natureza do grupo e pessoas encontradas (agricultores, membros de associação, pessoas mais velhas, jovens etc,) e listar as pessoas entrevistadas:

EQUIPE DA PESQUISA:

CARATERIZACAO DA ZONA: (MATA / TRANSICAO / SEMI ARIDO)

A.2 Checklist and guidelines for topics and questions to cover in group discussions for the Rural Communities Survey (Final version 31.07.10)

RESUMIR OUTROS OBSERVACOES PERTINENTES E ASPETOS ENCONTRADOS NO CAMINHO, NO POVOADO E / OU NA VIZINHANCA DA COMUNIDADE VISITADA: (Ex. rios cachoeiras, matas, desmatamento, pastagens, fazendas extensivas, plantações, cruzamentos na estrada, vias de acesso a outros municípios, presença de postos de saúde, escolas, mercadinhos, casas de farinha, igrejas.

1. Historia da Comunidade:

Origens; Relações familiares; Relações com proprietários / fazendas da zona; crescimento ou não da população

2. Fontes do rendimento e a relativa importância de diferentes atividades como fontes de rendimento:

Agricultura; trabalho remunerado (diários, trabalho na terra de outros; casos de trabalho na sede e comércio); bolsa família; aposentadorias; o que contribua mais dinheiro? Qual a importância e relativa e específica de cada tipo de atividade?

3. Produção agrícola (e pecuária):

Principais culturas e sua importância: Quais culturas geram mais rendimento e quais outros que tem? (cacau, banana, mandioca, outras como seringa, cravo, laranja, abacaxi, maracujá, tomate; hortícolas; culturas alimentares: milho, feijão) Mudanças na produtividade e importância de diferentes culturas, inclusive a pecuária.

Se recebe assistência técnica, fonte, natureza e frequência; plantio de cacau clonado? Uso de adubos? Tratores? Crédito (participação no PRONAF / Agro-amigo, outros fontes)?

Cidades onde comercializa produtos, como que se comercializam os produtos; existência de transporte na comunidade, dificuldades que tem.

4. Percepções de mudanças das últimas 10 -15 anos:

a) Fazer a pergunta em aberta

b) identificar e sugerir temas

5. Dinâmica e situação fundiária: Acesso a terra e as mudanças e tendência históricas. A subdivisão por herança. Tamanho das roças na comunidade (hectares e/ ou tarefas). Compras e vendas de terra. Presença de arrendatários, parceiros e/ou meeiros. Emissão de títulos e regularização fundiária

6. Vínculos sociais e econômicos com áreas urbanas da região: Relações de parentesco, Onde vão para escola, hospital, acesso aos serviços compram produtos trabalham. Pessoas que trabalham nas cidades vizinhas e presença de familiares e parentes

7. Dinâmica de migração / saída do campo: trabalho permanente e temporário em cidades e outras regiões. Volume de pessoas que vão para as cidades. A perspectiva da juventude frente a questão da vida no campo e acesso a terra.

8. Diferenças sócio-econômicas dentro das comunidades (procura estimar em relação a presença de pessoas mais prosperas, com comercio, emprego, carros etc ou através dos volumes e valores relativos de cacau (ou outros produtos) comercializados

9. Dinâmica ambiental: as tendências dinâmicas percebidas pelos participantes - negativas ou positivas. Mudanças na disponibilidade e qualidade de recursos naturais como solo, água e floresta? Mudanças da paisagem. Se existem conflitos de acesso e uso dos recursos naturais, suas causas e as conseqüências econômicas e sociais para as comunidades. Abastecimento de água e poluição e secagem das nascentes; destino dos esgotos e do lixo.

10. Organização social, participação em associações e outros grupos: presença e níveis de participação em associações ou outras instituições coletivas na comunidade, formais ou

A.2 Checklist and guidelines for topics and questions to cover in group discussions for the Rural Communities Survey (Final version 31.07.10)

informais - sindicatos, igrejas, grupos culturais etc. As relações associativistas e de articulação em rede tendem a aumentar ou a diminuir ao longo do tempo? Há alguma participação em projetos ou atividades ao nível do município, ou com outros municípios? A comunidade relaciona com quais outras organizações e atores? Sentido de pertencimento ou não ao “Vale de Jiquiriça”.

11. Questões de gênero, juventude (e raça) : diferenças entre mulheres e os homens na vida econômica e social? Tendências de mudança das papeis e atividades de gênero ao longo do tempo, relativa à produção agrícola, educação e ao trabalho sazonal e migração? Participam mais homens ou mulheres em atividades coletivas e articulação com outros atores?

12. Resumo da dinâmica das mudanças, se a vida melhorou ou não, em quais aspetos; as perspectivas que tem para o futuro

Pesquisa sobre dinâmicas Territoriais Rurais do Vale do Jiquiriçá

ROTEIRO DO INQUÉRITO RÁPIDO SOBRE ESTABELECIMENTOS COMERCIAIS E VINCULOS COM O MEIO RURAL

ORIENTAÇÕES GERAIS AO PESQUISADOR

1. *Queríamos ter até 10 entrevistas de cada cidade (Mutuipe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaira) dos setores diferentes, maiores, médios e pequenos. O foco de interesse é a relação que existe entre os negócios urbanos e a produção rural*
2. *Deveremos incluir se possível: armazéns, casas agrícolas, casas de construção, restaurantes, supermercados / mercadinhos, farmácias, materiais de construção, lojas de roupas e confecções, papelarias / comércio geral; postos de gasolina.*
3. *Seria mais fácil fazer com pessoas conhecidas*
4. *Seria interessante também ter umas entrevistas com pequenos – ex. vendedores da rua, barraqueiros moto-taxistas, feirantes etc, embora não vão responder ao tudo e teria que adaptar a entrevista: por ex. para saber se tiver origem da área rural, porque vem para cidade, se manter algum vínculo com a terra e a família rural, se espere ou não voltar etc.*
5. *Por favor quando possível gravar a entrevista, especialmente em casos de:*
 - a) *pessoas abertas que tem várias coisas a dizer sobre o comércio, a dinâmica da região, sua história etc. ou*
 - b) *conversas rápidas, ou na rua com pequenos, e não tem condições para pré-encher o roteiro*
6. *Para além de entregar os roteiros preenchidos, será importante fazer uma pequena sistematização das informações recolhidas, (pode ser em formato de tabela) que resume a informação mais importante:*
 - *nome das pessoas entrevistada e do comércio que tem,*
 - *tipo de comércio, e se você caracteriza como grande, média ou pequeno,*
 - *se a pessoa é de uma família da região (do Vale) e de origem rural,*
 - *se também tem produção rural; e o que veio primeiro, o comércio ou a produção rural.*

Pesquisa sobre dinâmicas Territoriais Rurais do Vale do Jequiçá

**ROTEIRO DO INQUÉRITO RÁPIDO SOBRE ESTABELECIMENTOS COMERCIAIS E
VÍNCULOS COM O MEIO RURAL**

1. DADOS GERAIS

CIDADE /DATA:

NOME DA LOJA / ESTABELECIMENTO OU EMPRESA:

TIPO DE COMÉRCIO (tamanho/tipo de atividade) :

Nome do Dono:

Entrevistado (dono, gerente encarregado, empregado etc.):

Outros negócios que tem, dentro ou fora da região:

2. Um pouco da história da pessoa / família e do negócio:

Onde nasceu?

Qual era a atividade da família?

Se a família tinha propriedade rural: Localização? Ramo? Tamanho?

Hoje também tem propriedade(s) com produção rural?

Quando começou no comércio?

Houve crescimento do comércio/ diversificação de atividades?

3. NATUREZA DO VÍNCULO COM O RURAL

Se a pessoa é de origem rural, o que fez primeiro, comércio ou produção rural?

Como que chegou a investir no comércio? *Por ex.*

a) investiu no comércio com base nos lucros do rural? (ex. do cacau quando tinha preço alto)

A3. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRADERS SURVEY WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS
(Final version 12.09.2010)

b) se é filho /filha de uma família rural e buscou se estabelecer com negócio na cidade, e porque? (ex.falta acesso a terra e /ou falta de condições adequadas na área rural), OU

c) se vendeu terra para investir na cidade?

Se hoje em dia quase não tem vínculo com o rural, ou se espera ter, e o porquê disso

4. SOBRE A PRODUCAO RURAL

Localização (região) da(s) terra(s)

Área aproximada das terras que tem:

Tipo de produção / principais culturas:

Comprou terra a partir dos lucros do comércio?

Tem ampliado a fazenda ou comprado outras?

Tem investido mais na fazenda / na terra?

Em que?

Ainda mantém um vínculo direto com a terra e/ou a comunidade rural? trabalha ele mesmo a terra? tem outras pessoas cuidando? essas pessoas são da família e/ ou pessoas contratados? e o tipo de relação que tem (ex. empregado ou gerente fixo, parceiro ou meeiro, trabalho diário e / ou uma exploração comum familiar)

Numero e tipo de empregos associados:

5. SOBRE O COMERCIO

A atividade do seu comércio tem crescido/ permanecido igual/decrescido na última década?

A3. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRADERS SURVEY WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS
(Final version 12.09.2010)

A que fatores atribui essa tendência?

Número e tipo dos empregos vinculados com seus negócios

Concorrência que existe localmente e com outras e maiores cidades vizinhas e regionais e a perspectiva que tem em relação a isso

6. IMPORTANCIA RELATIVA DO COMERCIO E A AGRICULTURA PARA O NEGOCIO E /OU RENDIMENTO FAMILIAR - perspectiva que tem sobre desenvolvimento dos negócios / atividades de rendimento – rurais e urbanos

(Outras observações - continuam no verso)



ESTUDO DAS REDES COLABORATIVAS DO VALE DO JIQUIRIÇÁ

Formulário para preenchimento com participantes selecionados

Introdução

Este inquérito faz parte de uma pesquisa sobre as dinâmicas territoriais do desenvolvimento do Vale do Jiquiriçá (com enfoque nos municípios de Mutuípe, Jiquiriçá, Ubaíra, Santa Inês e Cravolândia), sendo realizada por uma equipe de pesquisadores da UFRB em colaboração com a Universidade de Greenwich na Inglaterra. Os objetivos estão para entender os papéis de fatores institucionais, a atuação dos atores sociais e governamentais, e a disponibilidade e acesso aos ativos em condicionar as dinâmicas de desenvolvimento do território do Vale. Assim esperamos contribuir à qualificação de estratégias e políticas públicas para um desenvolvimento sustentável e socialmente inclusivo do Vale.

Como parte da pesquisa, estamos interessados no funcionamento das diversas redes de articulação da região, formais ou informais, e as relações colaborativas que existem. Tivemos identificados um conjunto de pessoas de algum destaque, e representantes de diversas entidades atuantes no Vale de importância no desenvolvimento e gestão dos municípios de enfoque, das suas comunidades, e ao nível territorial. Através deste inquérito queremos entender melhor a natureza das relações colaborativas que existem (ou não) entre essas pessoas e identificar pontos fracos de articulação que merecem ser reforçados. Como você foi identificado como uma dessas pessoas, agradeceríamos bastante sua disponibilidade nesta investigação. Garantimos que seu nome pessoal não será divulgado em qualquer publicação ou relatório oficial resultando deste inquérito sem sua permissão explícita.

O formulário pode ser completado em entrevista viva com membro da nossa equipe, ou você pode preencher e devolver a nossa equipe por via de correio eletrônico, ou em papel. Estimamos que o preenchimento deverá levar cerca de 45 minutos ao máximo, e deverá ser devolvido até o 31 de Agosto por mais tarde. Para quem puder devolver via correio eletrônico, por favor, enviar aos seguintes endereços, até o final de Agosto.

Valdirene Rocha Sousa:

Julian Quan: j.f.quan@gre.ac.uk

Muito obrigado pela sua colaboração



QUESTIONÁRIO ESTUDO DAS REDES COLABORATIVAS DO VALE DE JIQUIRIÇÁ

Seu nome:

Entidade para que trabalha:

Contato: e-mail / telefone:

Data do preenchimento

A primeira parte do questionário solicita informação sobre suas relações colaborativas com pessoas listadas no quadro que aparece abaixo, onde você poderá incorporar suas respostas.

1. Por favor, indicar as pessoas na lista (ao verso) com quem você tem um conhecimento pessoal

2. Para as pessoas com quem você mantém uma relação colaborativa nas suas atividades ligadas ao desenvolvimento do Vale de Jiquiriçá, seu Município, ou sua comunidade, por favor indicar a natureza dessa relação na lista:

2. a) Se a relação é Forte (um dos seus colaboradores mais próximos e importantes); Regular (contatos e colaborações periodicos) ou mais Fraca (contata e colabora, mas pouco)?

2. b) Qual é o tipo de relação ou a “direção” de colaboração? Você presta apoio (informação, conselhos, mobilização de recursos técnicos ou financeiros; ou você vende bens ou serviços); ou você recebe apoio, informação assistência ou fornecimento de bens ou produtos do outro; ou é uma relação de apoio mutuo?

Nome e entidade com quem trabalha ou representa	Você Conhece?	Você tem uma relação Colaborativa?			Natureza da relação que tem		
		<i>Forte</i>	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Fraco</i>	<i>Presta apoio a pessoa</i>	<i>Recebe apoio da pessoa</i>	<i>Apoio mutuo</i>
1. Erasmo Santos – Presidente do STR, Mutuípe							

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2.	Adriana Argolo, Secretária da Ação Social, Mutuípe							
3.	Juvêncio Cardoso - Dono da fábrica dos Biscoitos Flor do Vale							
4.	Hugo Leonardo Sacramento - Presidente de Câmara dos Dirigentes Lojistas de Mutuípe							
5.	Igor Leal, Secretário de Agricultura, Jiquiriçá							
6.	Doro, Chefe do Gabinete do Prefeito, Jiquiriçá							
7.	Edivaldo Jesus Leal – Presidente do STR, Jiquiriçá							
8.	Geopan, Comerciante e Produtor Rural, Jiquiriçá							
9.	João do Vale, STR Ubaíra							
10.	Girliêda Silva Brandão, Professora, Ubaíra / Coletivo educador do Recôncavo Sul / Conselheira do CAPPA							
11.	Monteirino – comerciante e produtor rural – Ubaíra							
12.	Maria Helena Rocha – Secretária de Educação, Ubaíra							
13.	Ana Rita – Secretária de Ação Social, Santa Inês (representante do MST)							
14.	Ângela Castelo Branco – Secretária de Administração Santa Inês							
15.	Jose Wilson Moura Ex-Prefeito de Santa Inês / Presidente do Sindicato Patronal Santa Inês							
16.	Idelfonso – comerciante, Santa Inês							
17.	Inês Costa STR Cravolândia							
18.	Joaquim, Prefeitura de Cravolândia							
19.	Luis Carlos Cardoso da Silva (Carlinhos) ex- Prefeito de Mutuípe; candidato a Deputado Estadual							
20.	Maria Lourenço Matos – Articuladora do Território do Vale do Jiquiriçá, STR Laje							
21.	Joseval Alves Braga Prefeito de Planaltino (Presidente do Mercovale)							
22.	Maria Lúcia Bonfim Perreira, Presidente do Sindivale, Mutuípe							
23.	Raoul Lomanto Centro Sapucaia. Amargosa							
24.	Aloísio Albino, EBDA, Santo Antonio de Jesus							
25.	Luiz Claudio - EBDA Santa Inês							
26.	Celso Weber – CEPLAC / Vice Prefeito de Mutuípe							
27.	Ana Rita Matos, Representante da Secretaria Estadual da Cultura, Vale de Jiquiriçá							
28.	Clarivaldo Santos, Professor, UFRB – Amargosa							
29.	Gervan, Banco do Nordeste, Santo Antonio de Jesus							
30.	Natanaído Barbosa Fernandes (Natan)- Diretor do Instituto Federal Bahiano, Santa Inês							

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4. Você tem alguns colaboradores importantes que não estão inclusos na lista?

Podem ser pessoas ao nível do seu município, de outros municípios do Vale do Jiquiriçá ou não, órgãos do governo, ou outros atores externos.

Caso que tem, por favor, indicar os nomes de até 5 colaboradores significativos, as instituições ou órgãos onde trabalham e se possível seus contatos telefônicos e/ou eletrônicos, indicando na tabela a natureza da relação colaborativa que você tem (conforme as perguntas 2 a e b):

Nome e entidade com quem trabalha ou representa	Força da relação Colaborativa?			Natureza da relação que tem		
	<i>Forte</i>	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Fraco</i>	<i>Presta apoio</i>	<i>Recebe apoio</i>	<i>Apoio mutuo</i>

5. Do seu conhecimento, alguns desses outros colaboradores que você indicou mantêm relações colaborativas entre eles?

Caso sim Indicar no espaço a baixo quais desses outras pessoas colabora com outros

6. Você acha que essas outras pessoas também têm relações colaborativas com seus colaboradores que você já indicou na lista?

Neste caso resumir a baixo com quem

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7. Você participa em algum mecanismo de articulação ou rede / organização de colaboração formalmente estabelecida (quer ao nível municipal, territorial, estadual ou outro)?

Caso sim, indicar o nome e natureza dos grupos ou organizações em que participa:

8. Você tem assistido ou participado em algum projeto ou iniciativa local ou territorial que é fruto de articulação e colaboração entre as pessoas na lista e /ou os outros que você indicou como colaboradores importantes?

Caso sim, indicar qual o projeto e as principais pessoas ou entidades colaboradoras:

9. Por favor, indicar até cinco (5) assuntos ou questões do desenvolvimento do Vale do Jiquiriçá que na sua opinião merecem ser tratados e resolvidos a nível inter-municipal, ou seja territorial.

10. Em termos gerais você acha que os vínculos colaborativos ao nível do Vale do Jiquiriçá, ou dos Municípios onde você trabalha estão mais evoluídos hoje em comparação à cinco anos atrás?

11. Por favor, indicar até cinco (5) pessoas e / ou órgãos com quem você acha que você deveria ter uma maior colaboração ou uma articulação mais direta para contribuir melhor ao

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desenvolvimento do seu Município, do Vale do Jiquiriçá, ou as comunidades com quem você trabalha?

12. Você tem alguma sugestão de como os mecanismos institucionais de articulação e colaboração entre atores locais e/ou outros poderão ser melhorados para o benefício do Vale do Jiquiriçá e / ou os municípios ou comunidades com quem você trabalha?

MUITO OBRIGADO POR SUA PARTICIPAÇÃO